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THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

VIEWS OF SENATORS SUMNER AND WILSON AND GEN. BUTLER.

[Note.—In justice to Senator Sumner and General Butler I ought to say, in advance, that these reports of conversations with them were intended for publication in a journal, in another city, of which I am an occasional correspondent. Otherwise, perhaps, they might have objected to state their views so minutely; as their publication in a Boston newspaper might be construed by some persons into a voluntary or even a premeditated exposition of these opinions. An intimate friend of both of these distinguished men, I thought that a correct statement of their views of the crisis and their estimates of the men of the hour, would be an interesting and important contribution to a proper comprehension of the present situation: and therefore, in the discharge of my regular duties as a journalist, I visited them and asked if they would object to a report of a conversation with them on public affairs. Unlike in many respects, they yet agree in this—that they have no political opinions which they are either ashamed or afraid to acknowledge. They are both, also, preeminently representative men and leaders of public political opinion. They offered no objection to my suggestion, and permitted me to take stenographic notes as they spoke. Their words, therefore, are reported *verbatim:* but it should be borne in mind that they have seen neither the manuscript nor the proofs, and that they talked with all the freedom and in the off-hand style of familiar conversation. I directed by question the course of conversation, which, it will be seen, was quite discursive—but gave no intimation as to the manner in which, nor as to the length at which, I would report what they said.

The reports were transferred to the *Advertiser* at the request of its friends; and both Messrs. Sumner and Butler will only learn when this paper reaches them, what journal was selected for this contribution.

This note will explain, also, why—writing apparently for a Boston journal—I spoke briefly of the homes and habits of these Massachusetts statesmen. BERWICK.]

SENATOR SUMNER.

BOSTON, August 30, 1867.

I HAVE just visited Senator Sumner and have had a very long talk with him on politics and the men of the hour.

I cannot doubt that, however you may differ at times from our honored Senator, you will be glad to present a correct statement of his views—the more especially as, within the last four years, he has been the first to announce and advocate the various measures which form to-day the "cardinal virtues" of the republican creed.

Senator Sumner at home is one of the most instructive and entertaining companions that I have ever met. Of all our public men, he is at once one of the ablest and most transparent. There are no dark holes and corners, and no intellectual labyrinths in his character. To a Titanic strength of will in maintaining his principles, and to a mind of the best Roman fibre are united a Spartan directness of idea, and that unreserved frankness which is the noblest trait of the English character; and to those in whom he has confidence he is as open-hearted and communicative as a school girl. A strong, pure-minded, white-hearted man; he talks of others and himself with equal freedom—not hesitating to lay open his inner life before you, and to let you into all the secrets of his public career. Few men living would dare to be as friendly to his friends as he is. Most men hold the key of their hearts in their own hands—but Charles Sumner's latch is always on the outside. No man of average goodness would strike at him any more than they would a saint. His public career is a grand triumph of the moral element in human nature; for, while Mr. Sumner is the friendliest of friends, he is not democratic in his habits, and he utterly despises political tact. Those who do not know him think that he is cold and aristocratic in his manners, although the reverse of this opinion is the truth; while it is none the less probable that his neglect of the arts of the political partizan would, but for his representative embodiment of morality in political affairs, long since have cut short his official life.

One of my first visits to Mr. Sumner at his Boston home was made in the company of John Brown, to whom I introduced him. He lay on his bed, still suffering acute pains and utterly prostrated from the effects of the blows of Brooks. John Brown had just come from Kansas, where two of his sons lay buried in bloody shrouds—victims, in their early manhood, to the same savage power which had stricken down the Senator. The old man asked to see the coat which Mr. Sumner had worn when the attack was made on him. He rose, walked feebly across the room, took it from a wardrobe and handed it to John Brown.

And then I saw a historical picture which I would not willingly forget.

The senator, half bent over, supporting himself as he stood by holding on to the bedpost—John Brown holding up the bloody coat in his left hand, looking at it with compressed lips and austere brow; it needed only what one can see to-day—the aureola around the old man's head, the senator triumphant and still foremost in the good fight, the slave for whom they suffered, now free and a citizen—to start up in the background in order to translate it into a visible prophecy of the future of our America.

But I must not dwell on the many memories that I have of the senator's home, for, were I to do so, I would exhaust my space before I began my report.

I found Mr. Sumner to-day—as I have always found him when in health—at work, in his old-fashioned parlor near the door; a small, low-studded room, the sides of which are covered with steel engravings of eminent men of different ages and nations—these framed in a plain black walnut "single bead," and the frames screwed to the wall. The doors, also, are covered in the same way. The faces are all strong and earnest; of warriors, priests, painters, orators—but no woman among them all! There are two portraits of Edmund Burke, one of which bears so striking a resemblance to Mr. Sumner himself that I asked him if he ever remarked it. He said he had more than once been asked by visitors when he sat for that likeness? Burke, I judge, is Mr. Sumner's ideal of the patriotic statesman, and it is curious that a manuscript of the great orator in his possession contains the original of the specimen of his handwriting lithographed in the standard English lives of him.

Mr. Sumner, when abroad, made quite an unique collection of antique statuettes in bronze, and of rare engravings and prints. He has a few paintings and manuscripts, valuable from their age or associations. He possesses manuscripts of Scott, of Grotius, and of Bellini; a chained medieval missal; an album in which Stafford and Milton in their youth wrote their names when they visited an Italian nobleman; and one or two of the most exquisite specimens of steel engraving ever made—among them the celebrated masterpiece, named, I think, The Beautiful Dress.

His collection of books is valuable and useful rather than large; for the means of the scholar are not always necessarily proportionate to his tastes.

But the increasing numerals on my pages warn me to begin my report of the conversation.

Naturally, the first subject introduced was—

THE REMOVAL OF STANTON.

"Stanton's removal at this time," said Mr. Sumner, "is a national calamity. Of course the rebels everywhere are encouraged.

"They see that the President is with them, and this makes them hard-hearted and stiff-necked. You cannot measure the extent of this evil influence. It is a terrible blow at reconstruction. And yet I am confident that reconstruction on just principles will prevail in the end. But its trials are increased. It is sad enough to think of! So great a transition ought to be made under favornig circumstances instead of adverse. To carry it over the transition period with permanent advantage to all the parties to it, the President and all officers, military and civil, should be friendly and congenial. But we shall succeed in spite of every impediment."

"Stanton," I observed, "does not seem to have made many personal friends; everybody seems to be angry at the overthrow of the secretary rather than the man."

"Mr. Stanton," resumed the senator, "has not the elements of personal popularity. He never cultivated the amenities. He is often impatient, cold, and even harsh and antagonistic. But he is always a patriot. His fidelity has been constant down to the last. Here," he added, handing it to me, "is a letter from a gentleman in Washington who saw him often 'in his last official duties,' and calls him 'one of the purest and best of men.' Such will be the judgment of history. Personally he must be glad to be relieved. But the office needed him still longer. Nobody who did not see him habitually during the war, can comprehend the vigor, constancy, and extent of his labors, early and late, day and night—making the office his bivouac.

EMERSON AT THE WAR OFFICE.

"I remember taking Mr. Emerson with me to visit the War Department, and we found him snatching a repast among his files of papers and attending to his business while he eat. I think my companion was much impressed at the scene. But this was typical.

LINCOLN AND STANTON.

"Mr. Lincoln had great faith in him, and was truly attached to him. This was because of his real usefulness.

"I recall gratefully that during all this time he sympathized with me in efforts to induce a Proclamation of Emancipation. He desired it months before it came. When we met we often spoke of the project and regretted the delay.

"The night of Mr. Lincoln's death he showed character, as he gave his orders and watched the dying President. In that room he was commander-in-chief, and for the time the whole country was there. He must have a great place in history. Louvois, Pitt and Carnot were great war ministers—the greatest, Stanton must find a place in this group."

GRANT AS SECRETARY.

I asked what his interpretation was of the action of Gen. Grant in taking Stanton's place?

Mr. Sumner said it was difficult to explain. "If there is any secret history to let in light upon it, I do not know it. There can be no military obligation on a general to assume a civil office. Grant might have refused and thrilled the country to the confusion of the President and the rebels. So, at least, it seems to me.

"Such a refusal would have been notice that a patriot like Stanton should not be struck through him, and would have helped to make the President powerless.

"It would have been notice also to the rebels that they could have no hope through him. I confess this is what I most long for. Now is the time to speak out for our country. Every presidential order signed by Grant is an encouragement to the old rebel spirit.

"But, while at the War Department, Grant is in a certain sense what Lord Derby called himself the other day—'a stop-gag.' He at least prevents a rebel from being thrust into the office. Stanton has had confidence in him always; although Grant is so habitually reserved and taciturn that it is difficult to know his real position."

GRANT AS CANDIDATE.

"Do you think," I asked, "that Gen. Grant is aiming for the presidency?"

"I do not know," replied the Senator. "There are things that look that way. His friend Mr. Washburne, who has just returned from Europe, I understand, speaks of him as a candidate. This is not like Grant, who is a thoroughly modest gentleman. Wellington, whom he resembles in some respects, was older and more experienced when he entered civil life, and it is well-known with what distrust.

"But the great difficulty in his position is that we are left in harrowing uncertainty with regard to his opinions. Who can say that, as President, he would give to the freedmen, during the coming years, and through the processes of reconstruction, that kindly and sympathetic support which they need? Can we afford to be in any uncertainty on this point?

"I have from the beginning been insisting on 'irreversible guarantees.' Our next President must be in himself an 'irreversible guarantee.' Is Grant such? I wish I knew. Personally, I like him. In conversation he is neat and precise, with clean cut ideas and words.

GRANT ON SHERIDAN.

"I enjoyed much what he said to me about Sheridan.

"I said:

"'Is Sheridan a great general or a great cavalry officer?'

"He replied promptly and with very suggestive emphasis, 'A great general.'

"It must have cost him a pang to sign that order, removing the officer he admired and loved so much."

Mr. Sumner then spoke of

PESIDENT JOHNSON.

"With a person," he said, "of ordinary sense and with a heart, reconstruction would be easy. The President is perverted, pig-headed, and brutal. His talent, such as it is, comes from pugnacity, or as the phrenologists have it, combativeness. When aroused against Jeff. Davis in the Senate, he was on the right side, and his temper gave to his arguments additional force. We all sympathized with him then. We did not know how foolish and shallow he was, nor did we see his prejudices. Little did we think of the evil he would do!

"I have often said that no man in history has ever done so much evil to his country in the same time.

"Of course he is a usurper and tyrant. The wonder is Congress did not act accordingly long ago. It will read badly enough hereafter that Congress did not put him at once in a straight-jacket. His crime is shared by Congress. But I am blameless. I have protested and insisted. To me the case for proceeding was always clear as noon.

CONGRESS AND IMPEACHMENT.

"What were the true reasons, in your opinion, for the hesitancy of Congress?"

"Congress," replied the Senator, "has hesitated on every important point and every important stage of its recent history. It hesitated about emancipation; it hesitated to assume jurisdiction over the rebel States; it hesitated to put arms in the hands of the blacks; and it hesitated to confer the suffrage upon the same colored citizens. And so it has hesitated in its duty toward the President. Of course the country loses by this. Business, commerce, manufactures, finances, everything—suffer.

"It is futile to expect specie payments and financial prosperity until reconstruction is established and society at the South assumes a condition of permanent security. I have preached all this over and over. But at last Congress has done its work.

IMPEACHMENT.

"I have never doubted that the President would be impeached. I do not say what judgment I should pronounce as a Senator if he were before us; but I have always felt it proper to declare what I thought of him and my sense of the duty of proceeding against him.

"Some good men have been befogged on the law. Only a little study is needed to clear this up. Let them read Story and Bishop. As a general rule impeachment is a political proceeding for political misconduct.

EFFECT OF IMPEACHMENT.

"There are persons who think that impeachment would convulse the country. Such talk reminds me of what Charles James Fox said to Napoleon when Napoleon said that the English Ministry had employed assassins against him—'Clear your head of that nonsense.'

"There is but one thing the country cannot stand, and that is misrule, which is precisely what we have now. But I am not making a speech—you have led me far enough."

IMPEACHMENT IN CONGRESS.

"What has influenced Congress?" I asked.

"I can answer," said Mr. Sumner, "for the Senate rather than the House."

"In the House the most intelligent members have been for impeachment. In the Senate the subject has been considered only incidentally. There are some there who thought it 'indecent' to speak plainly of the President; but most of these belonged to his friends, or at least visited him and asked him for offices. Of course such persons were naturally against any proceedings, and cultivated silence. I do not like to speak of any of my associates there except most kindly. Some of the most wrong-headed are agreeable and excellent in other respects.

SKETCHES OF SENATORS.

"It is hard to account for the ways of some of them, especially of some of the new recruits.

"Edmunds, of Vermont, for instance, coming from that earnest and determined State, is a prodigy of obstructiveness and technicality.

"So, also, is Conklin, coming from Central New York, and being still a young man of admirable talents and with a great future, if he does not get shipwrecked at the beginning.

"Patterson, of New Hampshire, and Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, have good sentiments and give you the impression of personal purity; but it is strange that they do not see that something more is needed in dealing with rebels and their present chief—Johnson. Of all these, Fessenden is the captain; so, at least, it seems to me."

SENATOR FESSENDEN.

"Now, Senator," I remarked here, "I would like to have your photograph of Mr. Fessenden. I see Mr. Phillips calls him a 'dyspeptic Scotch terrier.' But I will not repeat what you say unless you leave me free to report what I please of this conversation. However, I would like to know more about him, whether I ever use it or not."

Mr. Sumner said:

"I do not know whether to answer or not. For several years he has been very unkind to me—unaccountably so. I cannot comprehend it. Sometimes it has seemed to me akin to insanity. It is said by his friends to be chronic dyspepsia. I never alluded to him in debate except with respect. He has been always against my ideas; but why should he contend personally? I cannot explain it. When in 1862 I insisted that Congress had jurisdiction over the rebel States, he made haste to announce that I 'stood alone.' Very well. I have company enough now. And so, when I insisted that we must confer the suffrage upon colored persons in the rebel States by act of Congress, there seemed to be no limit to his bad feelings. All these measures have come hard to him. While the slave-masters lodged in the Senate they were willing enough to attack me. But all of them together never wounded me as did this colleague from New England. Such conduct in one so conspicuous was an evil example in the Senate.

"What order of talent has Mr. Fessenden?"

"His peculiar talent," replied Mr. Sumner, "is controversial. His *forte* is personality. He runs to personalities as a duck to water—if not in language, then in manner and tone. He is nothing if not personal. Until he gets heated he is dull. He always quarreled with everybody over the appropriation bills which he conducted. The discussion was one prolonged jar. John Sherman in the same place is always amiable—often opposes your motion, but without discourtesy. Fessenden comes into a debate as the Missouri enters the Mississippi, and discolors it with temper filled and surcharged with sediment. But he has not the volume of the great river.

"He is of much finer fibre than Andrew Johnson, but resembles the President in prejudice and in talent for combativeness. His words are more select and his sentences better. He is accurate in speech and logical in form. As a lawyer he is of the *nisi prius* order. There is nothing of the jurist in his attainments or his nature. From his position he has exercised much influence in the Senate; but from the beginning he has been a drag on reconstruction. He has always seemed to have a soft side for Andrew Johnson. But his report on reconstruction is excellent. It is the best thing he ever did, and it contains no personality.

"He and the late Judge Collamer were good friends and sat side by side; but on one occasion he flashed upon the judge as upon everybody else. I think the passage was suppressed in the *Globe*.

"You are right in your curiosity about Fessenden; for his situation now is peculiar. He is the head of the obstructives. If any person calling himself a Republican takes the side of the President it will be Mr. Fessenden."

Of

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Mr. Sumner said:

"I like Seward personally. He is always genial, flowing and sometimes interesting. His great fault was that he never understood the rebellion, or how it was to be encountered. It would seem as if he had not yet found out. I doubt if he will in this world."

Mr. Sumner spoke long and pleasantly about literary celebrities.

But I shall report one remark only, as it refers to a recent editorial topic—Carlyle's Niagara.

"Carlyle," he said, "seems to have changed from an evangelist into a vicegerent of the devil!"

GEN. BUTLER.

BOSTON, Sept. 3, 1867.

On Saturday I took a trip to Gloucester to see Gen. Butler in his "Tent on the Beach," as the Boston *Post* used to call his summer residence at Bay Vue—and surely no one can blame that jovial but wrong-headed journal for the humorous nickname when one remembers how bitter a pill it had to swallow in recording the triumphant election of its former ally. It needed a sugar-coating to go down, and far be it from the victors to begrudge the "saccharine facilitator."

[We must omit, for the present, our correspondent's analysis of General Butler's character and of his home life. However interesting it might be to those who do not know General Butler personally, the great length of the subjoined report of his talks on national affairs makes it necessary to shorten the letter.—EDS.]

After a walk around the general's sea-board estate—which covers some fifty acres—we talked about public affairs. Butler, like Grant, is a great smoker; but, unlike him, he talks as he smokes; and as he smoked and talked, I wrote the notes of which I have made use in the letter subjoined.

The conversation, of course, soon turned on political subjects, and I asked him his views of the present situation.

ON JOHNSON.

"Well," he said, "the situation would be sufficiently alarming if it was certain that Johnson was acting from purpose and plan and not from obstinacy and personal ill-will. If he could be calculated upon, as another man might be, one would say that these acts in removing Stanton, Sheridan and Sickles were part of a plan to take control of the government, upon the theory that the legislation of Congress was unconstitutional, and therefore not binding upon the Executive.

His course would seem to indicate that putting Gen. Grant into the War Department and exhibiting him as obeying and carrying out his orders was to familiarize the army to obedience to Johnson's command, and to show them that the highest officer must be, in military affairs, subservient to his will. But the imbecility and wavering of the President heretofore relieves the country from any pressing belief of danger.

Johnson lacks courage and capacity. If he should reorganize his cabinet, and put at the head of it a man like Black, who has both courage and capacity, then, indeed, in view of the belief that would be engendered by the probable turn of the elections in some of the States in the fall, that a conservative reaction had begun—then one could easily predict the probable turn of events. But now we are in the condition of the sportsman who refused to match his blood horse for a race with the farmer's old white bull because no man could tell how fast a lop horned bull would run."

ON BLACK.

I asked the general if he knew Mr. Black personally, and what he thought of him?

"Yes," he said, "I know Black. I have met him at the bar. I knew him somewhat when he was in Buchanan's cabinet. He is a man of decided genius—erratic, bold and of quick perceptions, and with strong reliance upon his own powers.

"He believes thoroughly in the unconstitutionality of the war and the consequent illegality of every act of legislation growing out of it. Not doubting on these points, he would have no hesitancy in following his plans to their logical sequence; which would be, of course, that Congress was an illegal body, its acts without binding force or effect, and that it was the duty of the President to save the government by an exercise of executive power, and that such action would be conservative and not revolutionary; and if he was in the government I believe he would shape its course to that end, under the full conviction that he was acting according to the Constitution and for the best interests of the country. This with him, would be true conservatism. He looks upon any other, and of course the congressional reconstruction, as revolutionary and tending to despotism.

Upon his accession to the cabinet, I should look for great peril to the country, because there is no man so dangerous as he will be—acting courageously in support of the wrong under the conviction that he is in the right."

I remarked here:

"You seem to regard him as likely to be the American Strafford?"

"Yes," said Butler, in his decisive way, "I do."

ON GRANT'S POSITION.

I then asked what he thought of General Grant's position in the cabinet?

"Grant," he said, "has taken upon himself a very difficult and dangerous *role*. If he can carry himself safely through it, I shall give him credit for more ability than I have ever been inclined to do.

"He has not the excuse that he acted under orders. As a military officer he could not be ordered to take a purely civil office, as the office of Secretary of War is. Such an appointment would be simply a request. And nobody saw more clearly the difference between a request and an order than Grant, when he instructed Sheridan that Stanbery's opinion, then published by the Commander-in-chief for the guidance of the district commanders, was not an order, and, therefore, as military men, they were not bound by it, but could follow their own judgment. Yet his friends claim for him that he has twice, in his own person, construed the President's request into an order—first, when invited to 'swing round the circle,' and again when invited to the war office, *ad interim*.

"If Grant accepted the war office from the motive to interpose his high position and personal efforts to save the country from the illegal and unpatriotic acts of the President, then every true man should honor him for his patriotism, and sustain him to the utmost extent, whatever may be their personal relations to him, or their opinions as to his fitness for a civil office; and," added the General with emphasis, "no man will go further than I will in that direction."

I then asked what his opinion of General Grant's course, thus far, was.

"Well, his course has left him open to two different constructions. It is difficult to see how he thought he could do more for the country by supplanting Mr. Stanton than by co-operating with him; and with such co-operation Johnson never could have removed Stantou.

"His letter to Mr. Stanton would seem to indicate his confidence in the administration of Stanton in the war office. His change of the persons and of the action of the office would indicate the contrary.

"His letter to Sheridan and his order requiring that no rebel officer removed should be reinstated, indicate a purpose to withstand the President. His withdrawal of his protest against Sheridan's removal and permitting his banishment to the plains, after his ordering him to report to Washington, and the reason given for objecting to Hancock's taking command of the Fifth District—that he would be exposed to the yellow fever—seem to point to the fact that he lacks persistency in effort, or is under the control of the President and acting with him. He could not be ignorant that in opposing the removal of Sheridan he would be sustained by the country. His letter fully shows this.

"Now you ask what my own opinion is? The danger lest I should be influenced in judgment by dislike to the man, for which I have so much cause, precludes me from forming one. I wait events. Time, and very short time too, will determine the fact beyond the reach of opinion."

ON STANTON.

I next asked what he thought of Mr. Stanton?

"Stanton," resumed the General, "has the confidence of the country—deservedly—both from his private character and his official action; and I know no one patriotic man who did not feel safer, both in the present and future, because of Stanton's position in the war-office. I cannot doubt for a moment that Congress by the action of the Senate and by legislation will at once reinstate him. He *is* the Secretary of War and will remain so in spite of executive usurpation."

ON SEWARD.

I asked his opinion of Mr. Seward.

"It seems to me," he said, "that there can be but one explanation of Seward's course—the determination to ruin the Republican party, because of what seems to him its ingratitude in preferring Mr. Lincoln. Seward holds that he was the father of our party, and could easily suppose the deep grief and mortification which being set aside might cause him. Any other theory would only lead to the conclusion that Seward's intellect was waning, because the author of the irrepressible conflict could never be so stupid. The inevitable consequence of Johnson's course I can't believe that Seward fails to see, and if so, why does he fail to oppose the course of the Executive, or withdraw himself from the cabinet? There is surely nothing in our foreign relations that requires him to act."

ON IMPEACHMENT.

I now asked General Butler's opinion of the prospects of impeachment.

He replied—

"Impeachment is sure to come. The same causes which hindered it heretofore will now tend to bring it on. When Wade was made President of the Senate every presidential aspirant grew cold toward impeachment, and of course carried their tails with them. All admitted its justice, but they deemed it impolitic."

"Why?"

"Because, if Wade was made President he might use the power of his office to press himself for the succession by controlling the nominating convention. Therefore all gentlemen who desired that Mr. Wade should not be re-elected, urgently moved against impeachment. If it is too much to say *on account of this*, yet truth requires the assertion that it was *after* this. Perhaps the best illustration may be seen in the course the impeachment question took in Congress. On the opening of the fortieth session it was argued that the impeachment resolution should be recommitted to the committee of the last House as far as elected; two members only being wanting—Jack Rogers, a Democrat, and Mr. Morris. Both failed of re-election. This committee, however, was not appointed until it was certain that Mr. Wade would be President of the Senate, and therefore the successor of Johnson if he should be removed. Now—then, and not till then, three new members of that committee were appointed by the Speaker—one, Mr. Churchhill, a very estimable and able but conservative Republican of New York, and two Democrats—Mr. Eldridge of Wisconsin, and Mr. Marshall of Illinois, although the Democrats had less numbers in the Fortieth than in the Thirty-Ninth Congress, when it was thought that *one* man, and a weak one, would amply represent the minority on the committee. *Now*, two of their strongest men were given them, requiring the removal from that committee to the inferior position on the committee on elections, of Mr. Cook of Illinois, who was known to be in favor of impeachment.

"The result was, that when the vote came to be taken in committee, four out of the seven Republicans upon it, who were also on the committee of the Thirty-ninth Congress, voted for impeachment. Five voted against it, three of whom were the new appointees—Mr. Churchill, Mr. Eldridge and Mr Marshall. If the committee had been allowed to be as before, with the addition of one member only, there would have been a majority for impeachment. As it was, there were four out of nine, notwithstanding the legal doubts of Mr. Wilson, the chairman, and the asserted change of opinion of Mr. Woolridge, of Vermont. It is fair to Mr. Colfax to say that he claims these changes in the committee were accidental—but it was a sad accident for the country, as it had involved an extra session of Congress without results, and has left Johnson to entrench himself with the army against the will of the country. I claim that the people always have been and are ready for impeachment and will now demand it.

"Now, however, the condition has changed. If Congress, on meeting in November, should commence the impeachment, and proceed with all reasonable rapidity, Johnson could not be removed till spring—unless they came up to what clearly is the law and practice, that he should be deposed upon articles being presented to the Senate. Now, suppose that Johnson should not be removed till the spring, that would be too late for Mr. Wade to aid himself by executive power in the convention which will be held in May or June. But, as Mr. Wade is known to to be thoroughly loyal to the Republican party, and would heartily sustain the nominee of that convention with all the power of the administration, whoever should be nominated, each and all of the gentlemen believing themselves to have possibilities of being candidates, will desire that the administration shall be in Mr. Wade's hands rather than in Johnson's; and therefore—being convinced that impeachment is just and ought to be done—will become easily convinced of its policy, especially as they cannot fail to see that the people demand it, and that the situation of the country require it—for it is the only solution of all our troubles, and *the* great pacificator.

"For myself," added the General, "I have never doubted that it would come to this. I have got accustomed to have my opinions upon public affairs made good twelve months after date."

ON SENATOR WADE.

I asked his opinion of Senator Wade.

He said:

"Among the many able men who may have hopes of the presidency, Mr. Wade stands in the position of being a true representative of radical republicanism—honest, single-hearted, courageous, firm—'from the people and of the people' he has never failed to rely upon them and never has been found wrong."

"Don't you think the *Times's* report of his Kansas speech will hurt him?"

"No. It will not weigh a feather to those who know him; for to them, if Ben. Wade says he didn't say a thing, hundreds will not convince them to the contrary."

ON GENERAL SHERIDAN, SICKLES AND CANBY.

Of Gen. Sheridan he said that "if we are to have a purely military man for President, Sheridan perhaps is the best of any. He has shown, in addition to his brilliant qualities as a soldier, that his political instincts (because he has had no training) are true and right. Sickles has more political experience, and has shown a comprehension of affairs which was to have been expected from one taught in the Democratic faith, and has suffered wounds and mutilation to serve the country in the war in opposition to his political ideas.

"Canby, who is sent to take his place, is a gentleman and a true soldier, who will carry out the orders of his superior officers, whatever may be his own opinion of the question at issue. But he is so truly loyal to the country that the President could expect no aid from him in any revolutionary movement he may make at Washington. Hence, probably, his removal to Charleston. But, as I said before, we may have no fear of the President in that direction. The West is true and outvies the East in radical republicanism. And, on any attempt to overturn the government, they would be reckoned by hundreds of thousands on their march to sustain it."

ON GENERAL LOGAN.

"General Logan, who is a true representative man, and Illinois alone can furnish men enough to put Johnson down.

"By the way, the country does not know how much it is indebted to Logan, and with true modesty he will never tell them. When Gen. Grant was impatient at the delay of Gen. Thomas in fighting the battle of Nashville, which ended in the defeat of Hood's army, he sent Logan with an order to supersede him and take command of the army himself. On arriving in the Department, Logan found that Thomas was about to fight. Feeling the danger of changing commanders under such circumstances, he declined to serve the order to take command, at least till after the battle. Such unselfishness as that on the part of Logan is not too common, and such patriotism is an assurance that the interests of the country will be safe in his hands in whatever position he may be put."

—Here, not to put too fine a point on it, I became too tired to write any longer, and the conversation changed to general subjects.

Speaking of Napoleon, he made the best and homeliest criticism of his doctrine of Cæsarism that I have seen anywhere.

"It reminds me," he said, "of the Kentuckian's turkey for dinner—very good for one, but very scant for two or more."

In the afternoon, we talked of finances and taxation.

SENATOR WILSON.

ON IMPEACHMENT.

"A few weeks ago," said the Senator, "the great body of the Republicans of the country hoped to be able to accomplish their purpose without resorting to impeachment and the removal of the President; but the course he is now taking is carrying a great body of the party the other way, and to-day the great mass of the Republican party believe that the President will be impeached, and that he deserves impeachment."

I inquired the opinion of Mr. Wilson as to the

POSITION OF GEN. GRANT.

"He was in favor and pressed on Congress the importance of meeting during the Summer. Both Stanton and he concurred in this; his advice to members of Congress was always in that direction.

"I know this," continued Mr. Wilson, "that Gen. Grant, like some other men who were behind the scenes, has been more anxious during the last twelve months about the condition of affairs than he ever was during the war, and so expressed himself. It was the same with Stanton.

"THE BLAIR FAMILY,"

added the Senator, "have a great and bad influence over the President. They took him over to their place after the fourth of March and treated him with great kindness.

"This brought about a certain intimacy between them, which has been kept up. Their influence has been disastrous in the extreme. The Blairs are a pest to the country.

JOHNSON'S HATRED OF STANTON.

"As an evidence of the temper of the President, I can tell you one secret of the White House. A prominent Democrat whose name is known everywhere—a man whom the President often consults, but a personal friend of Stanton—called on the President and earnestly advised him not to remove the Secretary. He said—I use his own words—that the President raved like a mad bull, and swore that he would remove Stanton. His friend told him that in his judgment it would lead to his own impeachment.

"Johnson said they might impeach and be ——; that he would turn Stanton out if he was tried and shot for it! The same friend said that Johnson had been acting in a terrible passion lately all the time."

BERWICK.

WHITE AND BLACK FREEDMEN.

THERE are still people in this country who look with dread to the results of emancipation. Mr. Johnson has prophesied a "war of races," and a good many other weak sisters, and grandmothers of both sexes, tremble at what may come of this sudden change.

Well, we liberated less than four millions of slaves; the Emperor of Russia set free with a stroke of his pen over twenty-two millions. It will surprise many persons to be told that the Russian Empire still exists; that it is even doing well; it has not become a "prey to anarchy;" that industry does not languish, but on the contrary has increased since the act of emancipation; that in short, to open the safety-valve has not burst the boiler, as a good many simple persons imagined it would.

The Russian Emancipation act dates from 1861. The slaves in the Southern States did not become actually free until 1865. The Russian experiment began really in 1863, and is over two years older than ours; it is found there that schools have rapidly increased, and the freedmen have gradually and peaceably settled down to steady industry; and the experiment approves itself, even to its opponents.

"But the Russian serfs were not black, but white," some one will perhaps say. That is very true; but it is remarkable that the advocates of slavery in Russia imputed to the white slaves there precisely the same bad and weak qualities which the advocates of black slavery here impute to the negroes. An article in the current number of the *North American Review* on emancipation in Russia gives some curious instances of this. How often have we been assured by Southern slaveholders that the negro would not work except under compulsion? Free him, and you ruin the country, they constantly exclaimed. So the Russian master said of his white slaves, "No stick, no work." The negro, as a slave, we were told, was docile, easily attached to his master, indolent, wasteful, improvident, ungrateful, given to lying; the negro men were confirmed thieves, the women unchaste. But all these virtues and vices were attributed in like manner to the white slaves of Russia by their masters. Thus says the *North American Review*.

"'Sheep-like docility,' 'an incomparable sweetness of temper,' affection for superiors, strong family and religious feeling, hospitality, are allowed them; but frivolity, carelessness and indolence are their special traits. They 'appear to have sucked in the propensity to steal with their mother's milk,' and can 'only be driven to industry by the whip or the burden of a heavy tribute'; while servility abounds, the sentiment of gratitude is almost unknown. According to the author of "Russia by a Recent Traveller" (1859), the physicians give evidence equally discreditable in regard to the purity of the women. The familiar refrains are also heard, 'These qualities belong by nature to the Russian peasant,' and 'emancipation would certainly cause the ruin of a great number.'"

Does not this read like a parody of the Southern argument against the humanity of the negro? Finally the Russian slave was even said to give out a peculiar and disagreeable odor; just what was said of the negro slave of the South.

We need not wonder at this. The master of a slave always seeks to justify his wrong even before he is accused; he feels it; and his plea for slavery is often only an unconscious answer to his own conscience, rather than a reply to a special accuser. No doubt the Egyptians argued that the Israelites would not work without the lash, and would starve if they were set free. In Germany, up to a very recent period, the Jews, hated as a subject and outcast people, were charged with the same impurities and moral defects which were imputed to the black slaves in the Southern States and to the white slaves in Russia. The Jews was said naturally to give out a disagreeable odor; he was by nature dishonest; he was treacherous, ungrateful, but abjectly servile and cunning—all which was urged against him, to prove that he ought not to have equal rights with "Christians," and the equal protection of the laws.—*Evening Post.*

THE SOUTH.

GEORGIA.

CONDITION OF THINGS IN GEORGIA.

Correspondence of the Hartford Press.

SAVANNAH, Ga., August 25, 1867.

I came among the people of this State with the most friendly and conciliatory feeling, with confidence in their returning reason and desire to be restored to peaceful relations with the North, and to prosperity and happiness. After visiting all parts of the State, and conversing freely with the people of various conditions in life, I must confess I am greatly disappointed. It is true there are very many who exercise reason enough to see that it is for their interest to return to the Union under the plan offered by Congress. There are enough, perhaps, of the white population, certainly with the colored, to carry the State Convention, and to adopt a new Constitution, Republican in form. But there is great danger that the leaders of the Reactionary party, who are most indefatigable in their efforts to defeat the reconstruction measures, will secure such a hold upon the minds of the people who have been accustomed to follow them blindly, as to jeopard the interests of the loyal people, and the government of the United States through their political action in the future. The speeches and letters of Hon. B. H. Hill, late rebel Senator, H. V. Johnson and others, seem to fire the hearts of the people with all the animosity heretofore exhibited against the North and the government, which latter they denounce as one of the most tyrannical and despotic upon the globe. And they hate it with a most bitter hatred, which has not been softened by more than two years of kind and conciliatory treatment, and by a magnanimity never before exhibited. At the close of the war they were thoroughly humbled and crushed. They were only too glad to escape with their lives, and to submit to any government which might be placed over them. But now that they have been granted absolution, and almost equal privileges with the most loyal, they have grown arrogant, and insolently demand all the rigats, privileges, and powers which they forfeited by their infamous rebellion and treason. My hopes of this people diminish day by day. They show very little evidence of a return to reason, or honesty of purpose. If restored to power and representation in Congress they would certainly take advantage of the generosity and confidence reposed in them, and use all their political power to ruin a nation in which they take no interest, and a country which they deny to be their country.

A little time since an officer of the Freedmen's Bureau had occasion to visit a place of Summer resort, in this State, upon official business. As soon as his presence at the hotel was known, fifteen of the guests left, and went to another house, saying they would not sit at the table with a Yankee officer. A few days since an officer of the Fifth United States Cavalry, who had distinguished himself during the war, and commanded the party which captured and killed J. Wilkes Booth, had occasion to visit the same place. The landlord of hotel No. 1 could find no room vacant for him except among the servants' quarters. He then went to hotel No. 2, kept by a Union man, and secured a room, whereupon nearly all the boarders left for hotel No. 1, where they apparently secured rooms without difficulty, although none could be found for the United States officers. The landlord of the hotel where the officers remained, said that this second exodus of guests had ruined him, and he should be obliged to close his house.

Southern men frequently treat United States officers with civility—some to enhance their own interests, others because they feel disposed to forget the past, and desire to have the country restored to peace and prosperity. But very seldom are the officers invited to their houses, where the ladies dare not step over the barrier which society has erected against the "Yankees." If one dare to be so independent as to receive a Yankee, she is immediately denounced and placed under the ban by that society, and especially through the influence of the Southern beaus, who spend their small stipends in dissipation, and not in entertaining the ladies, but who busy themselves exceedingly in abusing any who have courage to accept kindness from a Yankee, and yet they do not hesitate to go to these same Yankees and beg for employment, with professions of kind feeling toward them. Base deception and dishonor seem to be a part of their chivalric code.

The hearts of the Southern people have been depraved by their social and domestic system of education, and by the teachings of bad men during the war, whose sole aim was to stimulate and excite the basest of passions, in order to keep up the rebellion; and so successful were these men that many of the most refined and learned looked upon barbarities and tortures practiced upon Northern men as justifiable, and not at all reprehensible, because of their inferiority and extreme wickedness, which placed them beyond the pale of civilized nations, and excluded them from the humanities

recognized by the laws of war. Even at this late day there are thousands of females spiteful and foolish enough to cross a muddy street to avoid passing under the stars and stripes, and wicked and depraved enough to carry in their bosoms, and press to their hearts, photographic pictures of the infamous assassin, Wiles Booth, whom they style "a brave and noble martyr," whom they "admire, love, and adore," and who is now "rewarded in heaven for his glorious deed" in murdering Abraham Lincoln. These expressions are not confined to people of low degree, but I have heard them from the lips of those who move in the first society, and who are considered delicate, refined, and lovely.

The negroes are employed to work for the merest pittance, and many are kept waiting months for their pay, or cheated out of it entirely. Their schools are frequently broken up by mobs of excited and ignorant whites, who are jealous of the rising intelligence of the negro race. The young orators of the white schools and colleges are fond of declaiming against the men who are working for reconstruction, styling them "Southern traitors," etc. And the civil officers of the State, until forbidden by Gen. Pope's Order No. 49, gave nearly all their official patronage to the anti-reconstruction journals, who indulge in the greatest abuse, and heap the vilest epithets upon those who favor the Congressional plan. There are very many who threaten to discharge the negro from their employ if he dares to vote for the Convention, and this will, no doubt, have its effect to a limited extent, but generally, I think the negroes are proud to take advantage of their new privileges, and will vote according to the advice of those who have proved their best friends heretofore, and not to suit those who are so loud-mouthed in protestations of a new-born friendship, and yet denunciatory of the Yankees.

I take pleasure in stating, on the contrary, that there is a large party working strenuously for the restoration of the Union under the Congressional plan; many of its members were connected with the Confederacy during the war, but like sensible men who have been defeated, they now do all that they can to restore good feeling and the Union. This is especially the case among the Confederate army, many of whom have forgotten all their old animosity, and like true soldiers, the fight over, and victory declared, are ready to make friends, while those who sympathized with the rebellion, but were too cowardly to fight, are now the most bitter and violent, denouncing and threatening those whom they were afraid to meet in open arms.

In the coming elections it behooves us to watch this people closely. If there is not a good working majority of whites in favor of the Congressional plan, then it will be dangerous to trust them with any legislative power, for they will certainly deceive us, and, once in Congress again, will laugh us to scorn, reduce the negro to a condition worse than slavery, disfranchise or banish him, and again wield the power of master.

I fear this generation is ruined, morally, physically, and politically; their domestic system and the conduct of the war, on their part, have destroyed their sense of honor. They show no signs of improvement; they lack industry, are sullen and morose, and do not reciprocate our generous offers of restoration. Shall we not be obliged to wait until we can populate the country by emigration, infusing new and healthful blood into the new generation, before we can again trust them with self-government? I hope not, but do much fear it. And now this military government is the best they have ever had, and the safest for nations and for individuals. Why should the United States pay the expenses of it, when the Southern people compelled us to institute it by their treason, and it is for their benefit? They admit that they are well and justly governed, and I think they ought to be taxed to pay the expenses arising therefrom.

DELAWARE.

THE EQUAL RIGHTS CONVENTION.

WILMINGTON, Del., Sept. 4.

ONE of the largest meetings ever held in Delaware assembled to-day to demand equal political rights for all men, without distinction of race or color. About 1,500 were present, half white and half black. Resolutions, extremely radical, offered by the Hon. Samuel M. Harrington, were adopted. One hundred delegates were appointed to the border States Convention which meets at Baltimore on the 12th. The delegates were instructed to petition Congress for the passage of Sumner's bill guaranteeing all States Republican forms of government. Addresses were delivered by the Hons. Wm. D. Kelley of Philadelphia, and John A. J. Cresswell of Maryland. Judge Kelley was received with great enthusiasm, and his effort was superb. He starts on Saturday on an extended Western tour. The Convention to-day was attended by the leading Republicans of Delaware, and was a most gratifying success.

TEXAS.

From the Marshall (Texas) Republican, Aug. 17.

On Saturday morning last the City of Jefferson was thrown into a great excitement by an occurrence of an extraordinary and shocking character. Judge D. B. Bonfoey, Collector of Internal Revenue, shot and killed his assistant, Col. H. W. Fowler. There were two witnesses, a negro boy about twelve years old and a negro woman. The boy was in front of the office, and hearing loud talking got up on a barrel and looked in at the window. He saw Bonfoey advancing, as if to pass Fowler, in the direction of a water-bucket in the room, but, before passing him, Bonfoey drew a pistol from the pocket of his pants, and shot Fowler from the rear in the neck or back part of the head. The boy became frightened and ran off. The negro woman was on the opposite side of the street, and the door of the office being open, she witnessed the whole affair. Her testimony was substantially that of the boy's, with the addition that the deceased did not fall to the floor, but that his head fell on the table; that she saw Mr. Bonfoey, after the shot, take hold of the deceased, but what he did she could not tell. Dr. B. J. Terry testified that he heard the report of a pistol, and walked out to where he had some hands at work, and inquired of them where the report came from. They pointed to the Revenue Collector's office. In a moment afterward Judge Bonfoey walked out of the gallery in front of the office, and called to Dr. Terry to come over, which he did. He informed Dr. Terry that he had shot Fowler, stating that there had been an altercation; that Fowler was going to shoot him, and he (Bonfoey) had killed him in self-defence. Fowler was on the floor with a pistol belt around him, very awkwardly adjusted, the scabbard lying over his abdomen, the pistol also on the floor, some distance off, and cocked. Fowler was lying with his legs doubled up, and Bonfoey straightened them, when a pen, which was in the hands of the deceased, fell out. Fowler was blind in one eye, and he was approached and shot on that side. It appears that Fowler had been writing at the table. He had written two receipts for $3,200, and had commenced the triplicate, and had written part of the caption, the word "Jefferson" half finished, after which there was a blur, showing an interruption. The affair, we understand, drew a great many to the scene, and there was great excitement, a feeling prevailing that it was a case of assassination. Bonfoey was immediately arrested by the Sheriff, but claimed that he was a United States officer, and subject only to the military authorities. A runner was sent to the commander, but before he arrived a jury of inquest was held, which took down the testimony substantially as we have related it, and then rendered an extraordinary verdict; virtually an indictment of Bonfoey for murder in the first degree. The military refused to have anything to do with the matter, and Mr. Bonfoey was taken charge of by the Sheriff. The next day John G. Jones, a Justice of the Peace, committed him without trial, as is said, on the finding of the jury of inquest. Another report is that he was tried privately. This, we presume, is a mistake. At all events an order was issued by the military commander suspending Justice Jones for his hasty action in the premises. The order reads as follows:

HEADQUARTERS PORT OF SHREVEPORT,
JEFFERSON, TEXAS, Aug. 12, 1867,

SPECIAL ORDER No. 12.—John G. Jones, Justice of the Peace in and for the County of Marion, City of Jefferson, State of Texas, is hereby suspended from office until further orders through these Headquarters. I hereby order that the sham court of committal had and held this day before Justice Jones, at the house of Sheriff Whitten, in the case of the State of Texas *vs.* D. B. Boufoey, charged with the crime of murder, is hereby proclaimed null and void, being fraudulent and illegal.

JOHN S. ALLANSON,
Second Lieutenant Twelfth U. S.
Infantry, Commanding.

On Thursday a preliminary examination commenced before Judge Mabry, with the following array of counsel; Pope, Stedman and Ochiltree, for the defence, from Marshall; Culbertson, Penn, Benners, Hall and Penuman for the prosecution, residents of Jefferson. The ability of these gentlemen, and the good sense, integrity and dispassionate bearing of the Judge, insure a thorough investigation of the case and a correct decision. We have as yet heard very little from the trial, except that a fact had been elicited connected with the shooting more favorable to Mr. Bonfoey. In what respect we could not precisely understand.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1867.

CONVENTION OF LOYAL GOVERNORS.

WE are glad to see that many journals are advising a Convention of Loyal Governors, to give expression to the real feeling and purpose of the nation at this perilous moment. President Johnson very properly told Gen. Grant that he was accustomed to look to official sources for the will of the people. He was right. But since Congress has betrayed its trust and deserted its post, we can have, strictly speaking, no official expression of the national will till November. Meanwhile, the danger is imminent. We are without a government. Our headquarters have been captured by the enemy, and the whole army (Congress) deliberately mustered out. What shall we do? Sit still and protest? Is there no other way? Is there no machinery within reach that can supply substantially, though not in form, the place of Congress? Yes, indeed! There are several ways in which the people may make their judgment and will unmistakably understood. In Kansas times, and at several critical moments in the rebellion, the government was either awed back or encouraged forward by mass-meetings, political conventions, and other instrumentalities. The assembling of all the loyal governors is one of the best of these, and comes nearest to a senatorial verdict.

True, Johnson may be too crazy to heed any such protest; still there are some near him who, reading that handwriting on the wall, might pause before they join him in his treasonable plots. We would have such a convention not only give expression to public opinion, but would wish them also to remind all *who join the traitor in his plots that not only is he liable to be impeached*, but they also to be *both impeached and indicted for such felony*. We would have such a convention pledge itself to leave no stone unturned to make all Johnson's tools feel the keenest edge of the law. We need to have these miscreants realize how unsafe it is to play with edged tools. They should be reminded that, if the nation does sometimes confusedly pardon Lee and Davis, it hangs Wirz; so let the Blacks and Blairs take warning.

These men are not fools or drunk, whoever else may be so. It is but simple justice to them to presume that they see, as clearly as the country does, the inevitable result of the conduct they advise. It must provoke Congress to impeach Johnson. As it is so uncertain whether, in three or four months, they can rally any political means of resisting impeachment, it is natural to presume that, in case of necessity, they are prepared to attempt resistance to Congress in other ways. If they are not so ready, then the course they are following seems such stark madness that we must deem them daft to follow it. If, then, there is even the *slightest chance* of violent attempts at Washington, it becomes us to be prepared, to the fullest possible extent, for resistance. A conference of the loyal governors is a most suitable measure in this view. With Congress self-exiled, it seems the best possible method to prepare defence.

Some seem to think it safe to wait till November, and watch events; we think the sagacious and intrepid *Courier*, of Hannibal, Mo., is wiser, when it asks:

"But can the country afford to allow the President two months and a half of longer time? Can it, must it submit to the impending ruin? What can the mad President not accomplish in seventy-five days? With a cabinet composed of his own adherents, all enemies to the nation and its loyal inhabitants; with a treasury full of money, and a large 'secret service fund' at his disposal; with military officers in command at the South sympathizing with his views; a general of the army so hedged round with military etiquette, and timid in mental force, as to refuse to assume the responsibility of enacting what may ultimately be the last resort—revolution; with a large Southern population seething with rebellion, hordes of secret societies there, only waiting for the signal to spring to arms—what can't the President do in all this time?

"True, he cannot go very far. The first step toward anarchy led by him would be the seal upon his power, even though revolution were necessary. But he can do a vast amount of mischief, and the country knows it. Something more than mere watching is necessary. Action is demanded. There is one power left. That resides in the loyal governors of the loyal States. They have proved their patriotism on other occasions. They have as much right to assemble now as they had in September, 1862, during the darkest period of the war, to pledge their hearty support to President Lincoln. If it was necessary for them to convene then to strengthen President Lincoln in carrying on the war, it is more necessary now than ever, to meet to strengthen the people in the conflict precipitated upon them by a traitor President. If 1862 demanded their combined action, with that of President Lincoln, against the rebellion, their influence should now be united with the voice of the people in holding in check the rebel who has stolen into the seat of government to cheat the country of its hard-earned victories. Then if Mr. Johnson desires to precipitate measures, he will be confronted by an organized power, and Gen. Grant, instead of being tied hand and foot, will find himself 'under orders' to a higher law, the law of the people expressed through their loyal governors, acting so long as Congress remains out of service.

"This seems to us the only practical remedy for our present national evils. It is almost discouraging to see the presses of the country, the influential ones, furiously discussing the situation, and describing it in all its details, but not proposing any practical measures to control it.

"We repeat, Grant, by the peculiarity of his position, is nothing but a military 'protest.' The President is his master, and Grant cannot help himself. Now Gen. Grant wants another master. Give him the support of the loyal governors, and he will then have back-bone enough to act, as well as protest, if his heart is in full sympathy with Congress.

"Is this revolution? These are revolutionary times. Johnson means revolution. He can accomplish his designs only through revolution. Let him be met, then, by the only power which a law and order loving people can use until Congress meets—the military force in the hands of the governors of the loyal States."

Very important do we deem this measure for the purpose of supporting whatever of good may be found in Gen. Grant. We have, as yet, no confidence in him. But "while the lamp holds out to burn" the narrowest West Pointer *may possibly* turn into an honest man and a friend of the people. If anything can make Grant over and give him a new heart, it is the wholesome snubbing and impertinence—treason blatant and treason on the sly—to which he is subjected. We hope his physicians, Washburne and Schenck, will do their best. Meanwhile, we consider his symptoms very unfavorable. He took the secretaryship in a mean way. Brother Republican, as it is said he is with Stanton, the first notice Stanton had of his action was his note announcing that he had "accepted" the War Department. All these stories, set afloat by Grant's lackeys, that he "conferred with Stanton;" "that they understood each other;" "Grant's taking of the office was a matter arranged between him and Stanton"—are pure lies. Stanton knew no more than one of us does of any intention of Grant, until in a formal manner, he received the General's official note. This was disloyalty to party, if Grant be really a Republican, and more than that, it was playing into the President's hands. It was siding with Johnson against Stanton, and facilitating Johnson's wish to get rid of the War Secretary. This is a very bad symptom.

Another is, he backs down on every point and contents himself with wordy protests, when justice to himself, his office and the country, demands that he should resign, rouse the nation, and stand ready, *with the army* behind him and within reach, to protect Congress.

Another fatal symptom is, Seward and Weed are praising him. Rotten with political and every other corruption, disloyal in everything but the name—these men's eulogy is enough to wreck a firmer repute than Grant ever had. If he is an honest man, a Radical, and skilled in protests, let us hear him protest against Weed. We shall pin more faith on one such protest than on a dozen empty grumbles against a Johnson order which he proceeds to execute.

While these symptoms last, we despair of Grant, but never of the Republic.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

KANSAS.

THERE is in progress in Kansas a political campaign of unusual importance. We look forward to its result with the deepest interest. Desperate as was the conflict which fought off chattel slavery from Kansas soil, consecrated by the blood of heroes and martyrs, the odious, politically proscriptive word "white" found a lodgment in the State Constitution. The proposition is now pending, subject to the decision of the electors at the approaching election, to strike from the Constitution the word "white," and thus to enfranchise the blacks upon equal terms with the whites. We hope, and confidently expect, that at an early day Congress will assume the prerogative of requiring of every State in the Union, as well as of all which may be hereafter admitted, the enfranchisement of their black citizens upon equal terms with the whites—this to be confirmed and ratified by Constitutional amendment. But by the wise and honorable action of the Legislature of Kansas, anticipating that which we expect of Congress, the question is now directly before the people of that State. It is to be decided a few weeks hence, and, we hope, in favor of the abolition of all political disabilities on account of color. We trust that, upon no account, will the freedom-loving people of Kansas suffer themselves to be defeated.

There is involved in the pending canvass another issue of great moment, on account of which the campaign has a national significance. It is proposed to strike also from the Constitution of Kansas the word "male," and to enfranchise the women of that State upon equal terms with men. On this question Kansas is the pioneer State of the Union. Though it has been under consideration elsewhere, with the active sympathy and approval of the more intelligent, advanced minds of both men and women, in no other State have the electors been called upon to meet it directly by their votes. It is a matter of great moment to the women and men of Kansas (for we hold that the best interests of each are involved in the equal enfranchisement of both); but it also deeply concerns all who desire and are laboring for universal suffrage. One State carried, one illustration furnished, as a precedent, and the battle for the nation will have been half won. It needs but that the women of one State should actually go to the polls, participate in the election of officers, and in the making and administration of laws, to demonstrate to the many elsewhere, still blinded by an unthinking prejudice, how thin and unsubstantial is the foundation of their opposition.

Apart from its intrinsic justice, that the measure of equal political rights for women will have an important significance in the near future in the relation of parties, is foreshadowed by the result of the election just held in Maine, and in the present political situation in Massachusetts and in this State. By an anti-prohibitory liquor-law diversion in Maine, the Republicans nearly lose that State; the Republican vote of Massachusetts is likely to be considerably diminished from the same cause; and, from the same cause also, we may not improbably lose the new Constitution of this State (if one is matured by the Convention as early as November?), with its proviso for the abolition of political disability on account of color. The votes of women in all the States would put the question of temperance, in which the nation's welfare is so largely involved, beyond a doubt; and, at no distant date, as the signs indicate, they will be absolutely required to maintain a supremacy for the party of freedom and progress.

We hope the earnest men and women of Kansas will remember, in the intervening period between this and the approaching election, that not only are their own interests directly involved in the pending campaign in a most important degree, but that the intelligent, advanced minds of our own country and of Europe look to them to furnish by their action in November the first example of a real, unqualified Republican government, which shall know no distinctions of either color or sex.

THE MODERN SHIBBOLETH.

"*Advance and give the countersign.*"

THERE was a weekly religious newspaper in New York city which, earlier than almost any other of its class, spoke strongly and constantly against slavery, and even made fervent protest against *some* of the propagandist machinery of its sect which was taking the part of slavery. If it did not venture to assail the most popular and powerful of the ecclesiastical allies of the slave-system, the "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign* Missions," we must remember, in justice, that it had the boldness to attack the similarly pro-slavery position of the organization next in popularity and influence to that, the American Tract Society. In exposing the guilt of the powerful association last named, in confuting the sophistries, laying bare the false pretences, and following up the tortuous policy of its Secretaries and Executive Committee, the *Independent* did a work requiring great boldness, and involving no little risk, as things then stood. In that case, fortune favored the brave, and—the current of political events tending in the same direction, and the conductors of the *Independent* exerting themselves to make that paper the best of its class—it attained the prosperity and the popularity which we now see.

As faithful application of a truth already seen is the best help towards the appreciation of more truth, the *Independent* grew more and more to vindicate its name, and ventured to disregard others of the traditions of the elders, until one day it made a declaration of freedom from sectarian bonds, taking openly the ground that truth is to be sought in all directions, and followed even when it conflicts with preconceived opinions.

This was very startling to the leaders of that sect (the Orthodox Congregationalists) which had hoped to keep the control of so popular a paper, and to use its popularity for sectarian purposes. Since the Editor claimed the right of making progress, might he not advance beyond denominational limits? Since he owned allegiance first of all to truth, might he not brush, damagingly, against some customs of the church? Since he claimed a right to examine, might he not, perchance, come to examine even the creed? Every moment's delay was dangerous. A sectarian organ must be set up, and the *Independent* must be pulled down, and means must be taken to check the dangerous idea (which seemed to be spreading from heterodoxy into some of the borders of orthodoxy) that progress is a right and a duty; that we are no more authorized to set limits to the intellectual side of religion than to its practical side.

The leaders and organs of the Orthodox Congregationalists addressed themselves at once to all three departments of this work. The *Independent* was going too fast, and its *prestige* must be destroyed by impeaching its soundness in the faith. The denomination was tending to go too fast and its movement must be checked. An advance guard must be organized, which, standing fixedly in front, might keep the body from advancing. So an organ was established, taking as a basis the subscription lists of a small Iowa paper and a small Wisconsin paper, and looking to a vigorous sounding of trumpets by the minor denominational organs to bring more subscribers.

But, what to call the new paper? The name of a publication *should* express something of its character and purpose; as, where a breaking of bonds is intended—the *Liberator*; where free thought and free speech are intended—the *Independent*. In this case however, that course was inadmissible. Who could be got to subscribe for the *Retreat*—the *Back Track*—the *Spiritual Check-Rein*—the *Theological Turnpike-Gate?* None of these would do. A creditable name *must* be had, at all events, even for—such a thing as was here proposed. So the new organ, whose gear was expressly arranged for holding-back, was ingeniously called the *Advance!*

Well, the first number of the *Advance* came out. We are not to assume a first number to be absolutely decisive of the future of a paper; but it is certainly significant that the first article upon its first page is one that takes low, unworthy, churchly ground (by the last adjective I mean precisely what ministers mean when they say "worldly") in regard to a subject so important as the abolition of slavery. This article praises Earl Russell for a public utterance recently made by him; praises not only the expression as magnanimous, but praises the change of opinion as a sound one, calling the retreat an *advance;* praising as a merit what was at once a crime and a blunder.

If any one thinks Earl Russell to have shown preeminent magnanimity in the utterance above referred to, it is well enough to say so; though neither wit nor wisdom is shown in applying that epithet to a politician's choice of a favorable occasion to "tack," when the manœuvre transfers him from the falling to the rising tide. But it is of the opinion itself, not of the fitness of its utterance, that I wish chiefly to speak.

What Earl Russell said was, that he had formerly thought, "when the slave States of America endeavored to establish their independence, and at the same time to continue and perpetuate the institution of slavery, *that the Northern States ought at once to have proclaimed not only their own abhorrence, but the abolition and destruction of slavery.*" He now thought otherwise, and judged that former opinion to have been erroneous. "I am now persuaded," he went on to say, "that President Lincoln did *all that it was possible to do*, and that we are bound to give our tribute of admiration to *the excellent policy* which the President and his government pursued."

Let it be noted, that what Earl Russell praises is *the policy* of first delaying the emancipation as long as possible, and of making its first operation partial instead of universal—and that what President Lincoln did was to declare that he interfered with slavery only when the point of "military *necessity*" arrived, and that, if he could have crushed the rebellion without touching slavery, he would have done so.

Now in a mere politician, the *moral* aspect of this judgment of Earl Russell need not suprise us. He was not concerned with—probably he was not concerned *about*—the vicious character of slavery; but it *is* strange that—having formerly seen that the part of prudence, in a free people making war against a slaveholding people, is to avail themselves *at once* of that element of weakness in their opponents, to call the slaves *at once* to their side by liberal offers, and to push *immediately* the advantage which this derangement of the whole social and civil life of the enemy would give them—it *is* strange that, having once seen this, Earl Russell should peril his credit as a statesman with posterity by denying and retracting it.

But, considering that the course sketched in the last paragraph was the right course in morals as well as in policy—considering that the moral and religious duty of abolishing slavery, which always rested on the American people, had just been providentially set free from political entanglements, so that the North could proceed *alone* to this consummation, unfettered by that old bond, now cut by the South of her own accord—it is amazing that a paper pretending to uphold morality and religion (and calling itself the *Advance*) should applaud the deliberate postponement of the Act of Emancipation until the call of Justice was enforced by the claim of "military necessity."

Unfortunately for this country, Abraham Lincoln was a follower, not a leader. Having a leaning towards religion, and towards those people among the Republicans who make special claim to be religious, he followed these people in a hesitating, procrastinating, time-serving attitude in regard to the sin of slaveholding, refraining from action till the spur of "military necessity" came. But it the people represented by the *Advance* had been Christians half as much as they were Orthodox Congregationalists; if their ministers and churches, their Conferences and Associations, had set forth as they ought the *duty* of immediately breaking every yoke, and letting the oppressed go free, Lincoln would have followed them in this better course, as readily as he did in the worse one; and, following the right course *because* it was right, and abolishing slavery by Proclamation in 1861 instead of 1863, he would have not only crushed the rebellion by that single blow, but would have made the reconstruction comparatively easy. The pious *Advance*, however, praises the delay which its party caused; and thus shows, to those who will use their eyes, the remoteness of its piety from that religion which Jesus and James taught.

C. K. W.

* To the younger readers of THE STANDARD it may be necessary to explain how a Board of *Foreign* Missions could be a supporter of American slavery. It was so through holding religious supervision over the Cherokee and Choctaw Indians, who, living adjacent to our slave States, cherished a system of slaveholding precisely like theirs, and were encouraged and assisted by the missionaries of the Board, to do so, and further encouraged by the allowance of the Board itself, which vindicated its missionaries when their action was called in question.

THE elections just held in California and Maine afford a temporary buoyancy of spirits to the rebel-copperhead Democracy. Dissensions among the Republicans of California, of a local character, and not directly connected with national affairs, had chiefly to do with this defeat. In Maine a diversion, skilfully managed, against the Prohibitory Liquor Law, with a light vote, will account largely for the result there. Though the "reaction" against Radicalism, loudly advocated, and so much desired by the *Herald*, *World*, etc., is not as yet apparent, it is evident that the sceptre of official power will at no distant period be lost to Republicans unless their representative men are wise enough to become aggressive in real earnest, and to remove every "impediment," and consummate, upon a basis of impartial justice, the too long obstructed national reconstruction.

THE President has issued the expected Proclamation of Amnesty, which declares that the full pardon described in the proclamation of the 29th of May, 186 shall be extended to all persons who directly or indirectly participated in the rebellion, with the restoration of all privileges, immunities, and rights of property, except as to property in slaves, on the condition that they take and subscribe the oath prescribed in the proclamation of May 29th '65. The proclamation then excepts from its provisions the president, vice-president and heads of departments of the rebel government, and all its agents in foreign countries; all of a military rank above brigadier-general, and all of a naval rank above captain engaged in the rebel service; and also all who acted in the capacity of governor of any of the States under the Confederate government. It also excepts all who treated our prisoners otherwise than as lawful prisoners of war, all persons engaged in the assassination of President Lincoln, and all who are legally held in confinement or custody, or legally held to bail before or after conviction. This Proclamation bids for, and is intended as the forerunner of another rebellion. If it is thwarted by subsequent events it will not be Johnson's fault.

PERSONAL.

Mr. A. T. Stewart of this city, it is said, is about to establish a branch establishment in Boston.

Dr. Holland, the well-known author and lecturer is going abroad for two years.

Ralph Waldo Emerson has commenced the delivery of his admirable lecture, "The man of the World."

M. Barthely, the well-known French poet and critic, died recently at Marseilles at an advanced age.

Mrs. Lander exhibited a remarkable precocity for the stage, playing juvenile parts, it is said, when she was eight years old.

It is stated that John B. Gough has been obliged to decline four hundred invitations to lecture during the coming season.

The Hutchinson Family, consisting of John (one of the original members), his son Henry J., and daughter Viola S., have gone to Kansas to give two months musical services for "Impartial Suffrage."

James A. McDougall, late U. S. Senator from California, notorious for drunkenness, and as a "Democrat," died in Albany, on the 3d inst., in the fiftieth year of his age.

Maj.-Gen. Daniel E. Sickles, lately in command of the Second Military District, arrived in this city on the 9th inst. Many distinguished gentlemen have called upon him, and arrangements are making for a public reception.

Gen. Sheridan had an enthusiastic reception at St. Louis on the 9th inst. He was welcomed by Gen. Carl Schurz in an eloquent speech.

Lieut.-Gov. Claflin, says the *Commonwealth*, gave a brilliant reception at his residence in Newton, Mass., on Saturday last, in honor of Chief-Justice Chase. The attendance of numerous notabilities, and a large concourse of friends, made the occasion of much interest.

Gen. Griffin, reports that the yellow fever is committing terrible ravages in Galveston, Texas. He says there is not an army surgeon in or around that city that is fit for duty, and the regular medical practitioners of the town have more than they can possibly attend to. There were 25 deaths from the fever on the 2d inst.

Gen. Sheridan and his personal staff left New Orleans for Leavenworth, Kansas, on the 5th inst. They were escorted to the depot by the mayor, the members of the city council, and a number of citizens. Several complimentary addresses were made the General, to which he responded. Resolutions of regret at his leaving the city were read and adopted.

Mr. John H. Wildman, our Philadelphia correspondent (whose interesting letters will shortly be resumed), is announced as a copartner of the new Banking firm of Sterling & Wildman, at No. 110 South Third street, Phil. Mr. W's long connection with the house of Jay Cooke & Co., his impeachable integrity, and his correct business habits are an ample guarantee of success.

Among the recent marriage announcements in Boston we find the following:

On the 5th inst., at the Church of Disciples, by Rev. John T. Sargent, assisted by Rev. James F. Clarke, D.D., Hon. William E. Dickinson of New York to Miss Elizabeth Gray Sargent, daughter of the officiating clergyman.

The Dedham (Mass.) *Gazette* says: "The country can now judge between Mr. Sumner and Mr. Fessenden as to which of those Senators was right in his estimate of President Johnson, and the necessity of fixing an early day for the coming together of Congress. With all his zeal and earnestness, the course of events ever since the commencement of the war has shown that Mr. Sumner was nearer right than any other of our public men (unless we except Mr. Boutwell) in his appreciation of the situation and of the proper policy to be pursued. Time has proved that instead of being impracticable his views were those of sagacious statesmanship, and that the country would have been far better off to-day if the policy which he early indicated had been adopted."

Mr. Edward S. Bunker, Principal of the Mansfield Academy, No. 194 Henry street, Brooklyn, gave a reception to his friends, at the new rooms of the Academy, on Tuesday evening last. The rooms are spacious and well ventilated, are fitted up with the most improved style of school furniture and are in every way calculated to secure the comfort of the scholars.

We are glad to learn that Mr. Bunker opens under favorable auspices and we take great pleasure in recommending him to those of our friends who are seeking for their children a first class school.

The New Orleans *Republican* thus refers to the decease of Gen. Cyrus Hamlin, son of ex-vice President Hamlin.

"It is with profound sorrow we are called upon to announce the death of Gen. Cyrus Hamlin, son of Hon. Hannibal Hamlin of Maine. On last Saturday he sat with us in our office, apparently in perfect health, conversed cheerfully of the future before him, and expressed no fear of the dread disease by which he has been carried to an untimely grave. A splendid specimen of physical manliness, he looked as if he could survive the strongest attacks upon his constitution; but how little we know when the day and the hour cometh. A noble, manly, generous spirit, he was beloved by every one who knew him, and had not a personal enemy in the world."

Senator Wade addressed a large meeting at Cleveland, Ohio, on the 10th inst. He began by saying, that in his judgment no more important crisis in the history of our government had ever existed than the present. Though the conflict of arms had ceased, there must be no relaxation. The powers which opposed the government during the war still exist, their purposes unchanged, their determination unaltered. He said:

"When the special session of Congress closed, many believed that at last the President of the United States would abandon the course which he had so long pursued, accept the policy of Congress, which was approved by a large majority of the people, and execute the laws passed by that body. I was not of that number, for I had no confidence that he would administer the laws with fidelity when freed from the restraints which were necessarily imposed upon him during the session of Congress. Surely enough, he has fallen back into the same devious course; and at last we have it from his special organ that he is on the war-path. By his proclamations you know that he still asserts his determination to pursue a policy in opposition to that of Congress; and we have hints from all sides that he will carry out that policy, peaceably if he can, if not, by force. Doubtless many of you think that such an undertaking is so rash that no man in his senses would attempt it. But you know that when Fort Sumter was fired upon, some thought that actual war was not intended. The speaker assured the people that as great peril exists to-day as when armed rebels struck at the life of the Republic, and he ardently appealed to those who saved the nation by their valor then to rally to its salvation now. No one could say that he had been an alarmist during the war. He had never doubted our ultimate success, but the machinations of the present enemies of the Republic do not arrest the attention as did the clamors of war, and are so much the more dangerous for that reason.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, September 8th, 1867.

THOSE of our churches which fell into the fashion of having a Summer vacation are getting open and into action again. Mr. Longfellow has returned to the 28th Congregational Society of Boston, apparently to the satisfaction of both parties. Mr. Connor is going on prosperously with the Fraternal Association of Universalists. Dr. Gannett's Society refused to be "crushed before the moth," did battle with him vigorously, expelled him by main force, and now, considering him conquered, open their doors again. The Spiritualists, Ritualists and Adventists, I believe, went on through the Summer without taking a vacation.

To-morrow, the citizens of Boston and Roxbury are to meet in their respective Ward-rooms for decision of the question whether the latter city shall be annexed to the former. Of late, as well as heretofore, there has been much animated discussion on the advantages and disadvantages of this fusion. It is opposed by some who fear increased taxation; it is advocated on the ground that a very large number of people who do business here have their domicile in Roxbury only because they have been crowded out of Boston, and that they should be identified in form, as they are in fact, with the interests of this city. I judge that a decided majority favor the annexation, and that it will now be effected.

The beautiful house lately occupied by Dr. Dio Lewis for his school in Lexington was burned on Saturday morning, making a loss nearly total of house, furniture and school apparatus, of which perhaps two-thirds is saved by insurance. The school, however, is so highly appreciated, and Dr. Lewis is a man of such vigor and resource, that this accident will prove only a brief obstruction. He has already taken measures for rebuilding.

The recent agitation of the Sunday question here, in connection with the attempt to open the Reading-room of the public Library on that day, continues to gain strength. People will not always consent to classify warehouses and libraries together, and assign the same reason for closing both on Sunday. This is a distinction which the advocates of Sabbatical laws and usages are accustomed either to ignore or to misstate. They try to make the community believe two things, one of which is false in fact, and the other false in logic. They represent that the people who ask that the Reading-room may be opened *wish* that the warehouses and work-shops also may be opened, and are plotting and contriving to that effect; and they further represent that these two things are so similar in character and tendency that if you do the former you may as well do the latter; that one naturally leads to the other.

The trouble is that it is the theology of the remonstrants, not the wish of the petitioners, that put these two things on the same footing. What the petitioners claim is their right of inocent recreation on Sunday; meaning recreation not only innocent in itself, but carefully guarded from detriment or disturbance to others. They, no less than the remonstrants, wish the custom of a day of rest from laborious and money-getting occupations to be sacredly preserved; but they wish it preserved on the true ground, namely, of its usefulness. It is *better* for men to have periods of intermission from work, whether of body or mind; and, the habit of Sunday rest being established here, by all means let us keep it. So think nine-tenths of those who wish that the Reading-room may be opened. They agree to and encourage a *general* cessation from labor on Sunday; as every general rule has exceptions, they find legitimate exceptions to this one in the cases where the labor of a few will be highly serviceable to the community at large, or a considerable proportion of it; they believe that the transportation of the great mails, the supply of milk, gaslight and police supervision to cities, and the opening of Public Reading-rooms, are of this class; and they do not see that the allowance of exceptions like these perils the general rule.

But the people who wish to enforce their church-regulations on the community care nothing for this distinct on. They oppose innocent recreation, such as I have described, as vehemently as systematic labor. Parsons Blaikie, Bladgen and Fulton would as lief see a man working at the forge, or at the plough, Sunday afternoon, as reading the *Examiner*, the *British Quarterly*, or the *Edinburgh Review*, surrounded by other quiet readers, in the Public Reading-room. Their wrath and opposition are aroused no less by silent reading or quiet walking than by boisterous sports; the basis of their opposition to the former as well as latter is the false pretence that *the Bible* forbids them; and they do not hesitate to obstruct the gratification and wellfare of their fellow-citizens by the additional false pretence that these quiet recreations would disturb and interfere with *them!* It remains to be seen how long the opportunity of raising such obstruction will be allowed them.

NORTH.

NEW ORLEANS CORRESPONDENCE.

NEW ORLEANS, Sept. 2d, 1867.

"To be, or not to be" the Commander of the Fifth Military District," has probably been the soliloquy of our brave Sheridan for many weeks. But it is no longer a question of doubtful issue—for our gallant Commander has been sacrificed—to his everlasting glory, and to our—alas, we know not what fate. But the political chess game which Mr. Johnson is "playing alone" (or at least if Congress pretends to oppose him it is certainly with blindfolded eyes) loses its interest as far as the District Commander is concerned. When we contemplate the movements at headquarters, Congress is checkmated, and the game will be all one way until November.

We read in sacred history of but two personages who are supposed to bear the sins of the world. Christ, the Saviour, and Satan, the betrayer. Grant is the nation's and Mr. Johnson's scape goat. Which is he—Saviour or destroyer?—time will show—*ad interim*. We leave our opinion. Saviours are not crucified in *serving* error, but in *opposing* and *exposing* it. Truth recognizes no expedients but itself. But if ever the political scapegoat shall prove, in filling up the gap between a legal people's Congress and a disloyal President, that he can still fight in the cause of freedom "on that line," we shall be glad to pay all due homage. But where, O where is Congress? Two months must elapse before that body can assemble—which is their own fault—as that honorable body were warned before their adjournment last Spring, and again in July, that early provisions were made for its reassemblage at a given call, whenever the people's interest should require. Great disasters might and certainly would overtake us. A traitorous President—a "yielding" commanding General—a perjured Cabinet (with one glorious exception)—an insinuating, perverting, law-*defying* Supreme Court—an evasive and prejudging Attorney-General—the whole South under *military rule*, subject to the commands of the traitorous Commander-in-Chief—"and yielding commanding General"—a "Military bill in operation which Congress was obliged to repair," after the first trial of its machinery. Such was the situation when Congress deliberately and with full knowledge of all the facts adjourned until November.

With us, however, it matters little who shall fill the position of District Commander here, so long as the present powers preside at Washington. We have *one* hope—*one* stronghold. Registration for the State is completed. The election for the Delegates to the State Convention will take place in September, and we are *sure* of a majority of from thirty to fifty thousand.

The offices vacated by Sheridan and filled with loyal men cannot pass into the hands of traitors. We know what kind of men to select for the Convention. We know what kind of Constitution will be acceptable to Congress and the loyal people here. Johnson cannot checkmate us. The roll-call of the Republican Clubs are full to overflowing. Mass meetings are held in every town of every parish. We anticipate no difficulty and fear none—should it come, we are prepared for the worst. Red-handed treason cannot again shed loyal innocent blood and go unpunished.

Sheridan has fired a parting shell into the enemy's works, in the removal of Mohan, City Controller, under the infamous Monroe's *regime*, and a most unscrupulous and insulting little rebel. This was done at the request of the City Council, but it was a needful change and hailed with delight by all loyal men.

The municipal and State governments are a compromise between the extreme loyal and rebel elements here; and in the selection of officers, Sheridan—through what counsels I know not—has not selected the men who are nearest the great heart of the old and tried Union people and the newly enfranchised race. The *elections* will tell a different and still more Radical story. Sheridan had the power to make himself the popular candidate for the Presidency—he has not done so. Neither the *right* nor *expediency* of the *best* measures were comprehended by him. But we hoped a great deal when Grant espoused his cause and stood between him and the President. But this even did not make him bold to do the *whole* work here and do it *well;* and his sudden decapitation removes all possible chance of further reforms here until the law is in the hands of those to whom the law-making and law-executing power really belongs. We hope for the best and persevere ever in the right.

C. L. V. D.

good society. And when I told the men that they must not stop with asking equal rights for themselves, but must include their wives and daughters also, the women brought down the house with their applause. It was no soft tapping with feather fans, or dainty delicate patticaking with gloved hands, but with good solid stamping; nature herself inspiring and animating the feet, the hands, the voice, the whole being. It was on the whole a most enthusiastic and encouraging scene."

The first meeting in Kansas was at Leavenworth. The newspapers pronounced the address by Mrs. Stanton "the finest ever delivered in the State." The Rev. Olympia Brown and a branch of the celebrated Hutchinson family were in attendance (travelling at present together, one to lecture, the others to sing), and the meeting seems to have been one of great interest.

Miss Anthony writes that Mrs. Stanton and herself have engagements for every afternoon and evening, Sundays only excepted, until the fourth of November, and at distances apart of from twenty-five to one hundred miles.

MISSISSIPPI.

A correspondent writing from Mississippi, after noting the important changes now in progress throughout the South, says:

HOLLY SPRINGS, Miss., August 15th, 1867.

We have recently had another evidence of the great change manifested by the eloquent J. M. Langston of Oberlin, Ohio, being permitted to come among us, and to freely speak upon political and educational topics. Mr. Langston visited our State as the general inspector of colored schools for the Freedmen's Bureau. In discussing the subject of education, how could he avoid touching upon the political issues of the day, since the party lines in this section are drawn between those who favor and those who oppose the elevation and education of the common people.

You will readily appreciate how great and wonderful the change, when you remember that this is the first time that a colored man has been allowed to canvass Mississippi. Indeed I may say that it is the first time that the party of freedom has been allowed to organize or canvass in this State. Mr. Langston visited all the principal cities of the State, among which I may name Vicksburg, Natchez, Jackson, Canton, Meridian, Holly Springs, Columbus, and other places. At each of these points he inspected the schools, and gave the teachers and scholars advice and counsel which will greatly benefit them, and to the people of both colors and all parties he imparted educational and political information by which many will largely profit. His eloquence drew forth the highest encomiums from friends and enemies alike, and many of the most aristocratic rebels and negro haters seemed to forget the color of Mr. Langston and only remember his eloquence and oratory. In each of his speeches he boldly advocated the principles sustained by the most radical men of the day, and sustained his positions by quotations from the ablest men of the present and past ages. His meetings were all large, and attended by white and black men and women, and by many men who took a leading part in the rebellion.

The work of reconstruction is going on, although, I regret to say, somewhat impeded by the apathy and indifference, if not direct opposition, of Generals Ord and Gillem. In many instances men have been appointed upon the Boards of Registration who have no sympathy for loyal men, and who will not fail to register many who are disqualified under the law. The State officers, from Governor down to the town constables, are in most instances elected for their fidelity to the "lost cause." We read the Reconstruction acts as requiring the military commanders to remove from office all disloyal men. Were this done the State would be reconstructed without difficulty, and the lives and property of loyal men would be secure, and Mississippi would commence her march towards the bright and glorious destiny which we believe awaits her in the future.

PORTCULLIS.

NEGRO SUFFRAGE IN OHIO.

JEFFERSON, Ohio, Aug. 18th, 1867.

To the Editor of the Standard:

I HAVE been lecturing upon equal rights and impartial suffrage in Ohio—the past two weeks have lectured some fifteen times. Am now in the house of the son of J. R. Giddings. Have lectured here this afternoon; am to do so again this evening in the old Court House consecrated by many an Anti-Slavery Convention.

The two parties in Ohio are in a drawn battle. Hayes represents the Negro-Suffrage party, and Thurman candidate of the Anti-Negro Suffrage party. The one question before the people to be decided the 2d Tuesday (the 8th) in October, is, shall the Constitutional Amendment, giving suffrage to the negro on equal terms with the whites, be adopted? Thurmon the copperhead candidate for Governor, says, No. Hayes, the Republican candidate, says, Yes. This issue is made in all their speeches. The copperhead candidate vehemently insists that negroes ought not to have the ballot, that this is a white man's government. The Republican candidate insists that the negro should have the ballot, and that he has as good a right to vote and hold office as the white man. It is considered certain that the negro will get the ballot.

But negroes vote here now, no matter how black their skin, all over the Reserve. In this town are some twenty negro voters—many of them all negro, without a taint of Anglo-Saxon, and they all vote at every election, no man contradicting. So in every place where the people say the word, the negro of all shades of complexion, votes without hindrance. So in blotting the word white from the Constitution it only gives a public sanction to what the people do already and are determined to continue to do.

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

LITERARY.

The ninth issue of Ticknor & Fields's Diamond Edition of Dickens's *Bleak-House*, one of the most charming of all the productions of the inimitable author, is before us, printed and illustrated in the attractive manner of all the preceding volumes of the series. We have just peeped within its dainty covers to greet our old favorites, sweet, womanly *Esther*, gentle *Caddy*, benevolent *Jarndyce*, and improvident *Rick*, who for us have all the charm of veritable personages, regretting with a sigh the happy time of first reading, yet happy at the thought that soon the magician himself will stand before us charming us with his readings. Of this particular edition, so many pleasant words have been uttered that we hardly need add to them.

The *Radical*, for September, is an excellent number. Robert Collyer, of Chicago, explains his view of the mission of Christ; Mrs. E. Cady Stanton contributes a vigorous paper on *Woman*, and Octavius Frothingham speaks discriminatingly of the New Testament and its teachings. The shorter articles and book notices are also very good.

The CHRISTIAN EXAMINER, for September, No. 11, Vol. IV., New Series, contains much that is valuable, both for the clergy and the laity. A paper on the Divinity School at Cambridge is long and able, and both Mrs. Cheney's review of Springers "Period of Revolution" in France, and Mr. Warner's sketch of Massimo D'Azeglio, the Italian Statesman, are valuable and instructive articles. Mr. Hatch ventilates the Sunday question, and the Review of current literature by various hands is a fair and sufficient compilation.

OUR YOUNG FOLKS for September maintains its interest unflagging. The IX. installment of Good Old Times will be read by every country boy with delight—and a Deer Hunt in the Adriondacks will be regarded by the same class of readers with scarcely less of interest. In addition, J. T. Trowbridge, H. B. Stowe, Mrs. A. M. Diaz, and J. J. Hayes contribute excellent articles. Round the Evening Lamp is as pleasant in variety as ever.

BURT'S CONNECTICUT VALLEY AND WHITE MOUNTAIN GUIDE. Illustrated. By Henry M. Burt. A 12mo. cloth, 280 pp. Northampton: New England Publishing Company.

The above Guide, to one of the fairest and most enchanting sections of our country for a summer excursion, fills a want long acknowledged by the New England tourist. Aiming to discard floridness of style on the one hand, yet to preserve all of historical and legendary value on the other, Mr. Burt has hit the happy mean, and while his pages give manifold items of value, they have all the freshness of Starr King's most charming volume, the "White Hills." Of its fidelity to the subject treated, the writer, just returned from a New England sojourn, can bear ample witness. It is neatly issued and must prove a general favorite with the public. We congratulate Mr. Burt upon his success.

The *African Repository*, for September, contains the usual well-selected variety of reading matter, and we should judge well calculated for the field of its circulation. It is published on the first of every month by the American Colonization Society, at Washington, is neat and attractive, containing 30 pages, and furnished to single subscribers at one dollar per annum, payable in advance.

RECEIVED.

Oliver Optic's Magazine, No. 37. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

The Little Corporal, Vol. 5, No. 3. Chicago: Alfred L. Sewell, Publisher.

The Reformed Presbyterian and Covenanter for September. Pittsburg: Thomas Sproull, Publisher.

Littell's Living Age, No. 1214. Boston: Littell & Gay.

Every Saturday, No. 89. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

TREE OF LIFE. By Isaac Jennings, M.D. A 12mo., 378 pp. New York: Miller, Wood & Co.

Catalogue of the Adelphi Academy, Brooklyn, N. Y., 1867–8.

ART.

In the Art Items of THE STANDARD of a few weeks since, brief mention was made of the promising sculptor, Miss Vinnie Ream, whose connection with the government and proficiency in her Art, has brought her into such prominence, that a few notes of a recent visit to her Washington studio cannot be devoid of interest.

In one of the chambers of the Capitol, appropriated to her by Congress since her commission to execute the statue of the late President Lincoln, the almost child sculptor has her studio. Light and airy, tastefully decorated with flowers and evidences of her creative skill, it is the fitting abode of Art. We found Miss Ream busily employed upon a group in clay, to be entitled *America*, which will fitly symbol our country when a true *Reconstruction* is perfected. It is a work of great scope, exhibiting originality and grandeur of idea, and all her artist enthusiasm seems absorbed in the creation. It is her girl-dream of America's destiny. May it be as glorious as the unfolding of her prophecy! But it is not alone upon this work—sufficient within itself for all of mind and hand employment—that her wondrous energies are expended. Under her skilful manipulations, clayey outline daily more nearly approaches the form of the Martyr President, and she hopes to have the complete model wrought in time to enable her to sail for Italy, at the latest, within three months. Orders flow in upon her, and busts and statuettes, crowding the niches of her studio, speak eloquently of her employment. Familiar faces look upon you from plaster; names well known spring to your lip as you gaze alternately upon Senators, Generals, and Dignitaries, evoked from the past, or reproduced with marvelous fidelity from the present. The "Great Commoner," Stevens; the sad-eyed Lincoln; the astute Reverdy Johnson, are among those the eye recognizes as most happily depicted, but in many others are revealed correct delineations.

But it was not our purpose in this article, so much to speak of Miss Ream's work as of herself and the impressions of our visit. He whom, from fancies connecting masculinity with Art, has formed impressions of size or coarseness of mould, would be astonished to see, in the gifted artist, so *pedite* a creature, apparently more fitted for the drawing-room than such a walk of life. But if he be aught of a student of human nature, a little closer scrutiny abundantly satisfies him of his mistake. He sees strength in that form seemingly so fragile; he notes energy in every lineament of that speaking face, and he marvels no more at the secret of power. Born in the free West; surrounded the greater part of her life by adverse circumstances, Miss Ream was early taught habits of self-reliance, and in taking up her beautiful art to which she was irresistibly attracted, she did it without any of the fortuitous aids that rarely accompany struggling genius. Yet in the continuous effort, resulting in the removal of those obstacles one by one from her path, all that is sweet and womanly has been preserved. There is an atmosphere of purity about her. Her nature is artistic. Never was woman more truly womanly, yet she is as wedded to her art as though all of sweetness, refinement, and tenderness of nature were not hers, and looking from her to the busts and figures on which she has breathed her artist inspiration, one has a broader scope, a grander vision of woman when a girl, almost wholly self-instructed, could have thus conceived and wrought. Easy in manners, possessing a fund of intelligence scarcely to be expected, joined to rare conversational abilities, Miss Ream causes the visitor at once to feel at home in her studio and take an interest in her studies even though not a connoisseur in Art. Of her great work (the statue of Lincoln) she spoke freely, with a modest distrust of her own powers and a profound consciousness of the weighty responsibility confided to her, saying she *felt humbled to be deemed capable of such a trust.*

Unless her visitor be some one with whom ceremony is expected, she does not cease from work, but, industrious as the bee gathering sweets, converses as she labors. Ay, while so many of her sex, at Newport, at Saratoga, and the fashionable Summer resorts of the land are trifling away an existence, this girl, through all the heated period, has remained steadily at labor, working from six to eight hours per day, and only regretting the swift passage of time. Her dress, as worn daily, is plainness itself. That of no cottage maiden could be simpler. Yet as she flitted from one cast or model to another, touching the cold clay with her delicate fingers gently as though it were something animate, I thought of Hilda, that glorious creation of Hawthorne's, and queried whether fairer picture, than she made, with her soft, dark-brown curls floating over neck and shoulders, closely fitting calico dress and long check apron, was ever presented to vision. Her only ornament was a Maltese chain, suspended from her neck, with a cross, the latter of which may typify the trials she must expect to encounter from calumny and prejudice as she treads with free step the Future's glorious aisles of Art.

Mr. Leutze has lately placed on exhibition at Knoedler's Art Gallery his fine picture of "Elaine," which is attracting deserved attention. The subject has been treated by the artist with the solemnity and depth of sentiment it so evidently requires, and which stamps him as one of the foremost exponents of his school on this side of the Atlantic. The face of Elaine itself strikes us as being of a type too material to reach our *ideal*, but all of the surroundings, the quaint old boat, the gloomy shore, the glimpse of the sun-touched city in the distance, are of the most happy delineation. The coloring of the picture is subdued, and it will undoubtedly rank as one of the best of Mr. Leutze's efforts.

By the burning of the chapel of the Madonna del Rosario, at Venice, many celebrated pictures were recently destroyed; principal among them, "St. Peter's the Martyr," by Titian, "Pictures," by Tintoretta, and "The Virgin Enthroned," by Giovanne Bellino.

DRAMATIC.

MRS. LANDER AT THE FRENCH THEATRE.

Mrs. Lander's brilliant though brief engagement, at the French Theatre, terminates to-day. It is to be regretted that she has not given our public an opportunity to learn that her powers are as *various* as *great*. But we await another occasion to view the gems with which her *repertoire* abounds, hoping the time may not be distant. Mrs. Lander's "Elizabeth" has been so absolutely successful, in point of artistic excellence and pecuniary profit, that we are justified in expecting her early return to this city. We wish, indeed, that she might be induced to make New York her permanent abode. We are assured that such a determination would be greatly to her advantage, and our city needs her sadly. The Metropolitan stage holds many an actress as sprightly, graceful and in other ways attractive, but where shall we look for the true fire of genius? Were Mrs. Lander but established in New York with surroundings fitted for her greatness, it cannot be doubted that her audiences would always remain not only of the first quality, but also numerous enough to satisfy her fullest desire. Further view of Mrs. Lander's "Elizabeth" but strengthens our conviction that it is one of the grandest conceptions known to our stage. Of it we have spoken so fully, little remains to be said. How faithful her delineation of the "Virgin Queen" is, the best among American audiences know better than words of ours may tell. The company selected by Mrs. Lander, fully justify her judgment by the continued excellence of their support; the playing of the *Earl of Essex* by Taylor, being particularly noticeable for its growing refinement, yet susceptible of improvement by careful, earnest study.

We understand that it is Mr. Pugh's intention to give our Boston friends an opportunity of seeing Mrs. Lander's "Elizabeth," and we doubt not that cultivated city will tender her a welcome as generous as she has received in our midst.

MISCELLANEOUS SKETCHES.

NO. I.

ANDREW J. GRAHAM.

AMONG our self-made men, who have assumed prominence or been regarded as benefactors of their kind, the subject of our imperfect notes is deserving of especial mention.

Spending the earlier years of his life in the West, claiming the State of Ohio as the place of his nativity, but Michigan as his boyhood's home, he early drank in that exultant sense of freedom—that expansiveness of view seemingly boundless as the nature which surrounded him, and formed that mental disposition peculiarly fitting him for the useful part which he was destined to play in life.

The peculiar, philosophic boy was so far from a school, that he did not commence to learn the alphabet until he was nine years old, but then all preliminary education was so quickly acquired, that he outstripped all his schoolmates in the lower classes, reading in the "English Reader" before the end of his first three months of schooling. From this experience he has derived the belief that it is detrimental to children to be set at study before their bodies are well developed and a desire awakened for education.

Acquiring, with maturer years, a classical education in the Michigan Central College at Spring Arbor, long presided over by his older brother, Rev. D. M. Graham, and, studying, for some time for the ministry and then for the law, Andrew finally found repose for his aspirations in entering the literary and scientific field, in which he has achieved an eminent position, fairly entitling him to be regarded as the head of an important science.

Having thoroughly qualified himself for the important task, he as early as 1855 began to turn his attention to the improvement of Phonography, of which, under imperfect systems, he had attained a diversified reportorial experience. Testing most thoroughly his improvements, he commenced the preparation of a series of works which should be worthy of the beautiful art that Phonography had become under his perfecting intellect. This was a work, the nicety of which must at once be apparent, that would involve years of the most diligent literary labor. Phonography, it must be remembered, was not then in the flourishing condition it is at present. The student had a thousand obstacles to contend with that are now removed from his path. Instead of a science, it could only be regarded as a nomenclature, without a set of text books; without a dictionary, and to a great extent without a literature. Being but little known to the public, it enjoyed none of the sympathy and good will it now possesses. From its appearance in England in 1837, to use the language of Prof. Thomson, "it was a floating Delos, until finding its way into American seas, our Apollo of the Phonographic world, Andrew J. Graham, 'fixed and rendered it immovable.'" But in no wise deterred by the formidable character of the undertaking, Mr. Graham entered resolutely upon his task. Earning, by extra hours of labor in reporting, the requisite funds to enable him to carefully compile and publish his admirable series, they were finally offered to the public, and subsequent years have abundantly proven that, in their clearness and chasteness of style and general completeness, the student of Phonography finds all that is needed in making himself a master of the art. Testimonials without number from professors and students and from colleges and academical institutes where it has been introduced and successfully taught, as well as from the "press" of our own and other countries, might be cited to show the great praise bestowed on Mr. Graham for the happy result of his years of assiduous labors. Wherever he turns his eye he sees his reward. In civil and military courts, law offices, lecture rooms, sanctums, studies, and schools, and legislative halls, he sees his works quietly but surely effecting the desired alteration, assured that the changes already wrought are as nothing to the alterations to be.

In 1858, his first great work, the "Hand Book of Standard or American Phonography," was issued. This at once in value superseded all the previous books upon the subject, and its exceeding merit, not only for the new principles evolved, but for the clearness of elucidation, were so palpably evident, that its introduction to schools, and with the general student, was of rapid progress. Its reception by the literary world was not less flattering; scientific men and the "press," speaking of it and the others of the series in the highest terms and in a manner most gratifying to every American who delights in the honorable achievements of his countrymen.

In 1862, Mr. Graham was compelled to commence an equity suit in the United States Circuit Court, in Cincinnati, against Ben. Pitman (*alias* Benjamin Davis), "a brother of the inventor," for an alleged violation of the copyright of the "Hand-Book," etc.; by an unlawful appropriation of the complainant's new rules, principles, combinations, devices, word-signs, contractions, and phrase-signs. This great suit has been pending for four years, though it is now in effect concluded in favor of the complainant, since the court has decided all the legal questions in favor of the complainant, and of its own motion, required the defendant to give bonds to keep an account; and the proofs even of the defendant's witnesses seem to fully establish the complainant's claims throughout. All that remains is for a master to report what parts of Mr. Graham's authorship have been pirated by the defendant, to determine the extent of the injunction sought. "The law's delays," which an unconscionable "literary thief" can call to his aid, through too great leniency of our Courts, to prolong his parasitic existence, is one of the great trials which many of our meritorious authors have been compelled to experience in an endeavor to vindicate literary rights.

Mr. G.'s text-books upon Phonography meet every possible want of the student, embracing: the "Glance," not larger than the palm of the hand, presenting with wonderful power of condensed and comprehensive expression, all the general principles of the art; the "Outline," conducting the pupil, through ten miniature pages, to a fair knowledge of the general principles; the "Synopsis," enabling the pupil to read and write "the graceful stringlets;" the "Hand-Book," a "complete encyclopedia of the art," explaining, with great clearness, all the principles and styles of the art; the "First Reader," presenting in a corresponding style many of the best compositions in the language; the "Second Reader," exemplifying the best reporting style, and thoroughly educating the pupil for the reportorial profession; and the "Standard-Phonographic Dictionary—the Webster appeal in student perplexity.

Mr. Graham's skill as a reporter did more than anything else to demonstrate the practicability of reporting the proceedings of the most difficult and important lawcases in a perfectly reliable manner, so that court, counsel, witnesses, jurymen, and parties need not be subjected to the costly delay of the old method of taking down the testimony and other proceedings in courts. This demonstration established a system which will be the means of saving annually many thousand dollars of the expense of the courts. Indeed, without the system, the number of our courts would require to be doubled within a very few years. The law authorizing the employment of official reporters for the courts is deemed by Mr. Graham and many of our lawyers, of doubtful value, since, through political engineering, incompetent reporters will frequently get the appointments, and, in time, throw great discredit upon the system which can hardly sustain their defects and blunders. The reporters should, like lawyers, stand upon their merits and application to business; and, then, the competent reporters being generally employed, blundering and defective reports would be seen to be due to incapacity or inexperience, and not from their generality, be assumed to be inevitable.

Mr. G.'s duties now as publisher of his own and other books, and as conductor of the New York Phonographic Academy, 544 Broadway, occupy most of his time. As a prerequisite to the more general introduction of Phonography into schools and business, he is thoroughly educating gentlemen and ladies as teachers and practitioners of the beautiful and lucrative art. And with a view to the more easy publication of works and magazines in phonographic characters he has made an invention by which the most difficult combinations of characters can be as easily effected as putting together ordinary types; and by this process he will shortly produce a phonographic edition of the New Testament. He has also published Lists of Phonographic Word-Forms, for a few of the most common words of the language, showing that all writers might greatly abbreviate the labor of writing, even for correspondence or the press, by employing these few signs easily learned, written, and read. These lists are intended to accompany a letter or copy for the printer. One of the lists is printed upon envelopes so as to explain the signs used in the enclosed letter. A few literary and business men could easily establish the use of a few such signs, to the great relief of all writers, and with great economy of their own time. In the great majority of cases these frequently occurring phonographic words would be read at once, by aid of the context. A portion of his *Phonographic Visitor* is printed with these signs interspersed with the ordinary print, at once illustrating and rendering familiar the use of these "hurrygraphs." He has also published his work entitled "Brief Long-hand," in which he gives a systemized series of contractions, such as *m* for *may*, *c* for *can*, for the most frequent words, by the use of which the labor of writing may be greatly diminished, and without trouble either to correspondents or compositors. His Brief Long-hand is used by many literary men, and by students for reporting lectures, and has been introduced into some schools. The work incidentally presents much other valuable information for students and authors, and contains also the best exposition of the method of "correcting proof." The *Phonographic Visitor*, a phonographic and literary magazine, is now in its second volume. It is invaluable in the way of encouragement and instruction to all phonographic students, and possesses ample interest for the general reader.

Mr. Graham is yet young; truly progressive in all his ideas, possessing, as we have shown, a finely cultivated and original mind. We predict for him a useful career and high position as an American writer and thinker.

THE Philadelphia National Refreshment Saloons, where the soldiers from every part of the Union were fed during the late war, were an honor to Philadelphia, and there is a peculiar propriety in the circumstance that Philadelphia should inaugurate a plan for the endowment of a National Institude where the orphans of these same heroes may have a home and receive an education. This is what the Trustees of the Riverside Institute are aiming most successfully to accomplish. Acting under the Charter of the Washington Library Company, incorporated by the State of Pennsylvania, they are offering stock at the low rate of one dollar per share, and will give to each subscriber a beautiful and valuable steel engraving, worth at retail more than the price of the stock, and as an additional inducement will distribute among the stockholders presents valued at $300,000. In the distribution every one has an equal chance to obtain large presents; one is worth $40,000, another $20,000, &c. Who can refuse to do a patriotic and benevolent action on these terms.

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Address AARON M. POWELL,
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A MEETING of the Pennsylvania Peace Society will be held at Friends Meeting-House, Germantown, Pa., 9th month, 22d, at 3 p.m. A number of speakers will be present.

MR. RICHARD MASON, of Baltimore, Md., will hereafter act as Agent for THE STANDARD in that city. His address is No. 27 West Fayette street.

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PHILADELPHIA, PA., May 20, 1867.

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Miscellaneous Department.

THE ETERNAL GOODNESS.

BY J. G. WHITTIER.

"I know not what the future hath
Of marvel or surprise,
Assured alone that life and death
His mercy underlies.

"And if my heart and flesh are weak
To bear an untried pain,
The bruised reed he will not break,
But strengthen and sustain.

"No offering of my own I have,
Nor works my faith to prove;
I can but give the gifts he gave,
And plead his love for love.

"And so beside the Silent Sea
I wait the muffled oar;
No harm from him can come to me
On ocean or on shore.

"I know not where his islands lift
Their fronded palms in air;
I only know I cannot drift
Beyond his love and care.

"O brothers, if my faith is vain,
If hopes like these betray,
Pray for me that my feet may gain
The sure and safer way.

"And then, O Lord, by whom are seen
Thy creatures as they be,
Forgive me if too close I lean
My human heart on thee."

GAIL HAMILTON.

THE *nom de plume* of Mary Abigail Dodge, taken from her sobriquet of Gail and the village of her nativity, is so much better known than her own name, that we should obscure her identity by placing the latter at the head of our sketch. She is simply Gail Hamilton to all the literary world, and such shall she be in these columns. She was born in the little town of Hamilton, Mass., and after obtaining the severe and thorough education which girls in that section more than in any other receive, she followed the irresistible New England destiny, and became a school-teacher. During those years she read with avidity everything she could lay her hand, on—read with the unappeasable appetite Rousseau describes as his in the *Confessions*—until her mind was stored with mental treasures gathered from every source. Quitting her course of humble instruction in the rural neighborhood, she went to Washington as governess in the family of Gamaliel Bailey, then publisher of the *National Era*, and first manifested a disposition to write by contributing small essays to that popular anti-slavery journal. Mr. Bailey perceived her ability and her generous promise, and encouraged her to continue. None of her efforts were elaborate; though such as they were, they met with considerable favor. After returning home she furnished some very clever essays on various subjects to the Boston *Congregationalist*, which attracted the attention of Ticknor & Fields, who soon secured her for the *Atlantic*.

The *Congregationalist*, through one of its editors, Charles A. Richardson, is entitled to the credit of fairly introducing this racy and somewhat rattling, but always genial and excellent writer to the public. Since her connection with the *Atlantic*, which began about 1860, she has hardly written for any other publication; but she has done a deal of work, and, what is more, done it well, too, having published seven volumes of essays in as many years. Her *New Atmosphere* was a revelation of sound sense, capital humor, and telling satire upon the false education of young women of the present day, and the inconsistency of parents and guardians respecting the all-important question of matrimony.

Gail Hamilton is no longer young, but girlish-looking for her years, petite in person, light-haired and blue-eyed—a fair type of the New England blonde—quite shy before strangers, shrinking from being lionized, with a sensitiveness almost morbid; with a pleasant, expressive face (unfortunately marred by the defect of the Countess of Hanhan), and full, rich, constant stream of talk for those she regards as her friends. She has travelled very little, having never gone abroad, and having made but two trips West deserving of the name. She is decidedly learned for a woman, being a good Greek and Latin scholar, sufficiently conversant with French to read it with facility, and able to speak and write German with entire correctness and fluency. Her private letters, according to her correspondents, are superior to her published writings, abounding in freshness, sparkle, and point. Few authors in this country have a stronger, terser, and directer style than Gail Hamilton, whose reputation abroad, as well as at home, is well deserved.

ADOLPHE THIERS.

INCESSANTLY active, notwithstanding his seventy years, Thiers has preserved the freshness and almost fiery impetuosity of a young man, and is to-day a most indefatigable student and worker. He will be so to his last day, similar to those durable edifices which, unhurt by wind or weather, remain still whole when overthrown by the storm. For the rest, Thiers scarcely thinks of that fatal day, and when alluding to his approaching end, as he did the other day in the Chamber, he does so under the very natural and well-grounded impulse of a noble pride; it sounded a little like the coquetry of a lady who has remained beautiful in her advanced years, and now takes pleasure in boasting of her age. As in his youth, Thiers rises every morning at five o'clock and repairs immediately to his study, which, of a very large size, forms a sort of gallery, and contains five windows, four of which open on St. George's place, and the fifth on the garden of the mansion—a garden such as now-a-days is rarely met with in Paris—with tall old trees, a splendid lawn and countless rosebuds. Roses are Thiers's favorite flowers. He remains at work until noon, when he takes a light breakfast in his study. Like all men working with their heads, he eats very little in the morning and does not smoke at all.

Thiers writes out his speeches with the greatest care, and rewrites them often—not only once, but two or three times; he learns them by heart before delivering them. For the rest, all great orators do the same thing, and it is a great mistake to suppose that they extemporize their well-polished efforts. They often do so in replying to their opponents and on occasions which render a careful preparation out of the question, but never when they deliver an argument on a great and important subject. M. Thiers causes some time to elapse between the different times when he rewrites his speeches; he writes the second speech without looking at the first draft, and the third without reading the second; and when the day draws near on which he intends to address the Chamber he reads the three speeches, compares them with the utmost care, and then writes the fourth speech, that is to say, the one which he really delivers. To this system Thiers is indebted for the admirable clearness, the close logical chain, and the wonderful order of his arguments. His handwriting is bold and fat, and while he is at work he scatters on the floor about him the sheets which he has finished, in order to let them dry. I met Pelletan one day at the moment when he issued from Thiers's house on St. George's place. "Thiers is preparing some great speech," he said to me; "I just found him in the midst of a large number of wet sheets, which the fire in his fire-place was hardly able to dry." This was early in December, 1865, and the speech upon which Thiers was at work already at that time, was his famous speech on the principles of 1789, which he delivered only on the 26th of February, 1866.

Thiers is a man who is constantly in a hurry, and speaks too loud. His face and his form are by no means handsome. He is short, heavy set and of very ordinary appearance; the expression of his grimaced features remind the spectator irresistibly of the well-known Nuremberg toy figures. If that *spirituelle* lady, Mme. De Girardin, whose sharp pen traced so many faces, called Thiers "*mirabeau mouche*" (Mirabeau), a *sobriquet* which he never forgave her, this designation may seem hardly appropriate, for Thiers is not by any means as this little insect. Of quite another description was the rude nickname which Marshal Soult gave him, and which we cannot repeat here. Thiers, then, is not handsome, and as Mme. De Girardin, a good authority in such matters, observes, his bearing and his manners are very ordinary. But on watching him more closely, we are obliged to modify this opinion. He has a high, expansive forehead, lively, brilliant eyes, unfortunately concealed behind large golden spectacles, a mouth not disfigured by its slightly sarcastic expression; just let Thiers commence speaking, and you will consider him charming. His conversation, like that of all men who know a great deal, is richly interwoven with facts which his great mind knows how to enliven in the most attractive manner. An indefatigable inquirer in his youth, he knew better than any one else how to make people speak, and might have called himself, like Socrates, an *accoucheur* of the minds, only, after performing the operation, he took the child with him. In this manner he availed himself repeatedly of the knowledge of Gen. Jomini while he was at work upon his history of the revolution. Jomini, who saw through Thiers, and who was tired of being squeezed out in such a manner, had even ordered his daughter one day to deliver him by her timely intervention from the serpent's fascination enthralling him; but lo, when the daughter tried to carry out her father's instructions, Jomini got quite angry and ordered her not to interrupt his conversation with Thiers.

Thiers learned a great deal, as if playfully, after this wise, by his insatiable thirst for knowledge, in which he was powerfully assisted by his wonderful memory. He always quotes immense numbers of figures in his financial speeches, and has always got them in his head. Let me mention here an incident which I only learned a few days ago. It was in the year 1840. The Chamber was just discussing the bill on the fortifications of Paris, and it was known that Thiers was to advocate its adoption in a long speech. A journalist who wished to send an early report of the Minister's speech to his provincial journal, went to Thiers on the morning of the day when the speech was to be delivered. This journalist told me: "I found Thiers engaged in dressing. While he washed and shaved himself, put on his pantaloons, etc., he dictated to me from memory, in half an hour, a *resume* of his speech, which it took him four hours to deliver in the Chamber; and on afterward comparing this abridgement with the speech itself, I convinced myself that he had not omitted a single argument, and that he had closely adhered to the order in which he developed his ideas in his speech."

Thiers has repeatedly been called loquacious, and his conversation has even been compared with that of a talkative old woman. The parallel is true only inasmuch as he speaks, as it were, in too great hurry, and in a tone of voice which sounds sharp and grates on the ear. For the rest, his conversation is always profound and really delightful. People like to chat with Thiers, but no one likes to quarrel with him. It is not advisable for anybody to do so. The little man in such cases is at once ablaze, tolerates no contradiction, and whatever may be said to him will pronounce it absurd rather than try to prove that it is so. This is no symptom of good taste, and rather confirms Mme. De Girardin's opinion, as does also the fact that Thiers, when the conversation in his *salon* does not suit him, sometimes falls asleep in his easy chair. But, on the other hand, he accompanies to his street door such persons as he likes.

His house on St. George's place has nothing in common with the mansions of the rich upstarts where, in the place of genuine good taste, nothing but coarse luxury is to be met with, so that King Midas himself would find there nothing that might still be converted into gold. On the contrary, everything indicates the true artistic spirit for which Thiers is noted. His study contains several masterpieces for which the Louvre might envy him; for instance, the bronze model of Michael Angelo's holy virgin which, if I am not mistaken, is called the Florentine, and that of Ludovico Sforza's statue by Leonardi da Vinci, from whose hands only few but the more valuable pieces of statuary have issued; a marble Andromeda by Benevenuto Cellini, which, scarcely a few inches high, is a *chef d'œuvre* of ingenious workmanship and must be examined under a microscope. Besides, Thiers possesses several very large pieces of Chinese porcelain which, by their age and beauty, rival the celebrated Etrurian vases. The figures are so artistic and graceful that Etrurian art can hardly show anything more perfect.—*Leipsic Gertenlaube.*

THE PRICE OF TRUTH.

Great truths are dearly bought. The common truth,
Such as men give and take from day to day,
Comes in the common walks of easy life.
Blown by the careless wind across our way.

Bought in the market at the current price,
Bred of the smile, the jest, perchance the bowl;
It tells no tales of daring or of worth,
Nor pierces even the surface of the soul.

Great truths are greatly won. Not formed by chance,
Not wafted on the breath of summer dream;
But grasped in the great struggle of the soul,
Hard buffeting with adverse wind and stream.

Not in the general mart, 'mid corn and wine!
Not in the merchandise of gold and gems;
Not in the world's gay hall of midnight mirth;
Nor 'mid the blaze of regal diadems.

But in the day of conflict, fear and grief,
When the strong hand of God put forth in might,
Ploughs up the sub-soil of the stagnant heart,
And brings the imprisoned truth-seeds to the light.

Wrung from the troubled spirit, in hard hours
Of weakness, solitude, perchance of pain;
Truth springs, like harvest, from the well ploughed field,
And the soul feels it has not wept in vain.

THE HOME OF FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Not for the ancestral wealth which incrusts the feudal-looking gothic turrets of the house—shakes from the hoary tops of old trees standing round—and sparkles from the smooth-shaven lawn lying so peacefully before it; nor yet for the exquisite views and outlooks from its breezy site, into and over the picturesque and winding Derwent as slowly it moves through scenery which enchants and detains the tourist, while it distracts the angler, beckoning his eye away from his line to such strange witchery of form, outline and color. Beautiful and desirable as are all these—blest as is the spot, amid the hills of Derbyshire, in which culture, taste for natural scenery, and the refinements of life, might find their unstinted gratification—it is more blessed as showing that all these charms have been so often over-mastered by the stronger calls of suffering humanity. Had Florence Nightingale even an ordinary home—I will not say an obscure one, in which poverty struggled daily to meet the demand of hunger—but one in which the average comforts waited upon moderate thrift and competency—the lesson of her self-sacrifices, her heroism in learning through severest training the art of nursing the sick and suffering, and her long health-exhausting attendance in hospitals, camps, and hovels, would have been less pronounced, less lofty and ennobling.

Here, at this home, with all its wealth and luxurious appointments, where her fine mind has been carefully enriched, under the best of masters, by an extraordinary knowledge of the classics, modern languages, and art, and by all the multiform branches of modern scientific investigation, one best learns and most thoroughly appreciates the extent and character of her self-denying life. Born at Florence, in Italy, and taking its beautiful name, she seems to have had poured into her English nature the gifts which that art capital bestows upon her children—high-wrought sensibility, large and deep passion for shapes of beauty, a keen, direct sense of the fitting and the true, and a wonderful capability for persistent and sustained self-devotion.

Lea-Hurst, with all its ancestral wealth, and the valuable and solid social advantages which landed property confers in England, soon after became at once her property and home. Here she became a proficient in all the studies which make up a college curriculum, and distinguished in the more feminine accomplishments of music, drawing, and embroidery. The walls of her home smile with the witnesses of these gentle tastes. But all these graceful surroundings of her aristocratic home—these intellectual riches gathered up and garnered in her large mind, did not satisfy her longing to be useful to the sick and suffering. Leaving this beautiful home, she immured herself within the grim walls of a nurses' seminary at Kaiserworth, on the Rhine, conforming with loving docility to all its microscopic rules, and performing, in all its details, its laborious duties. Still young, courted, and admired, she withdrew from society and founded in London a school for the education of nurses, herself personally presiding over its minutest routine, and supplying from her own purse any deficiencies in its receipts.

Returning to her Derbyshire home, she employed her time in giving to the world a description of the Kaiserworth institution. But the suffering of the ill-provided, tentless soldiers, dying in the Crimea, summoned her thither. With admiration such as was not felt when the British fleet sailed from the Downs, did the world follow the nurse, with her gathered company of forty-two, to the comfortless camps near Constantinople, through her two years of weary watching and harrassing responsibilities, through the fever, which prostrated her, leaving her physical strength forever broken, but her soul still intent on doing good.

Again at her home, amid the fine scenery of the Derwent, she came, and amid the sweet patience of her nature, in the pauses of suffering and pain, wrote her notes on nursing. Blessed is the home of Florence Nightingale. My friend, would you deepen your love, deep as it is, for this heroic soul—would you get nearer to this index finger of modern civilization? Go to Lea-Hurst, look carefully through that beautiful abode, then at the pale, wan mistress, and, scanning the setting and the gem, measure by the contrast with the ways of others, the value of unselfishness—that great virtue of every happy home.—*Hours at Home, for July.*

THY KINGDOM COME.

BY JEAN INGELOW.

Thy kingdom come.
I heard a Seer cry: "The wilderness,
The solitary place,
Shall yet be glad for Him, and He shall bless
(Thy kingdom come) with His revealed face
The forests: they shall drop their precious gum,
And shed for Him their balm: and He shall yield
The grandeur of His speech to charm the field.

"Then all the soothed winds shall drop to listen,
(Thy kingdom come),
Comforted waters waxen calm shall glisten
With bashful tremblement beneath His smile;
And Echo ever the while
Shall take, and in her awful joy repeat,
The laughter of His lips (Thy kingdom come);
And hills that sit apart shall be no longer dumb;
No, they shall shout and shout,
Raining their lovely loyalty along the dewy plain;
And valleys round about.

"And all the well-contented land, made sweet
With flowers she opened at His feet,
Shall answer; shout and make the welkin ring,
And tell it to the stars, shout, shout, and sing;
Her cup being full to the brim,
Her poverty made rich with Him,

Her yearning satisfied to the utmost sum—
Lift up thy voice, O earth, prepare thy song,
It shall not yet be long,
Lift up, O Earth, for he shall come again,
Thy Lord; and He shall reign, and He shall reign—
Thy kingdom come."

REMARKABLE CHOLERA CURE.

592 CASES TREATED—NO DEATHS.

ALL the medical cholera schools use camphor in their treatment of cholera, and its value has been admitted on all sides; yet it has always failed to effect the desired cure, unless the experience of Dr. Rubini should prove an exception. The "saturated spirits of camphor" used by this eminent Neapolitan physician consists, as we learn from a correspondent of the London *Star*, of equal parts, by weight, of camphor and spirits, and to the power thus obtained he attributes his success in the treatment of the disease. The ordinary spirits of camphor consist of one part by weight of camphor to nine parts of spirits of wine, while the homœpathic preparation is made by mixing one of camphor to five of the spirits of wine. The quantity of camphor which water will take up is small, and to obtain the "saturated spirits of camphor of Rubini," it is necessary to distil spirits of wine, and get rid of so much of its water as will bring it over to 60 degrees overproof, in which condition it will dissolve and hold in solution its own weight of camphor.

With this "saturated spirits of camphor" Dr. Rubini treated in Naples 592 cases of Asiatic cholera without the loss of a single patient. Of these 592 cases, 200 were cured in the Royal Alms-house, 11 in the Royal Poor-house, and 166 in the 3d Swiss Regiment of Wolff. That the 377 cases treated by Dr. Rubini in these public institutions were all genuine cases of Asiatic cholera, and some "terribly severe," and that all recovered, the evidence of the following distinguished individuals, with their official seals attached, sufficiently attests: Il Generale Governatore Ricci; Il Maggiore Commandante Nicola Forni; Il Capitano Commandante Carlo Sodero; Generale Commandante Fileppo Rucci, Colonel Eduardo Wolff. The method of cure is as follows: "When a man is seized with cholera, he should at once," says Rubini, "lie down, be well wrapped in blankets, and take every five minutes four drops of the saturated tincture of camphor. In very severe cases the dose ought to be increased to from 5 to 20 drops every five minutes. In the case of a man of advanced age, accustomed to take wine and spirits, where the drug given in drops has no effect, give a small coffee spoonful every five minutes, and in a very short time the coveted reaction will occur. Ordinarily, in two, three or four hours, abundant perspiration will come out, and then cure will follow." "The preventive method," writes Dr. Rubini, "is this: Let those who are in good health, while living in accordance with their usual habits, take every day five drops of the saturated spirits of camphor upon a small lump of sugar (water must never be used as a medium, or the camphor will become solid and its curative properties cease), and repeat the dose three or four times a day. Spices, aromatics, herbs, coffee, tea, and spirituous liquors should be avoided."

Here, then, we have as strong a *prima facie* case made out as can well be conceived in favor of the preventibility and curability of the Asiatic cholera, and that by a remedy which is at once portable and inexpensive, and which all sections of the medical profession have heretofore employed, and can, therefore, raise no objection to employing again in increased potency.

EMINENT NEGROES.—One swallow does not make a Summer. Nevertheless, human capacity is measurable only by its extraordinary and exceptional manifestations. Shakspeare, Socrates, Newton, Bonaparte, Beethoven, are the outposts of human achievement, and each people has its representative man or men to mark the possibilities of development for the humblest individual. This rule applied to the negro race would procure it greater justice than it has yet received. Pushkin for poetry, Dumas for fiction, Douglass for oratory, Toussaint for generalship and administration, Banneker for science, are some of the examples of first-rate ability shown by men of African descent, often with small enough opportunities. To these may be added the late Ira Aldridge, the player, whose return to his native land after the European distinction which he had gained was much to be desired, and was but a few weeks since confidently anticipated. As Othello he would undoubtedly have surpassed all his competitors, who resort perforce to burnt cork and black gloves. Both in comedy and in tragedy his talent was conspicuous. He was not without honor save in his own country. With no peculiar gift of language, he traversed Europe from the Volga to the Irish Sea, performing generally if not always his part in English, and yet satisfying his audiences by his action. Bayard Taylor saw him play in perhaps as *bizarre* surroundings as could have been contrived for him; "a mulatto Macbeth, in a Russian theatre, with a Persian and Tartar audience!" This was at the great fair at Nijni-Novgorod, described by Mr. Taylor in the *Atlantic Monthly* for January, 1865. Aldridge he represents to have been,

"A dark, strongly-built mulatto of about fifty, in a fancy tunic and light stockings over Forrestian calves. His voice was deep and powerful; and it was very evident that Edmund Kean, once his master, was also the model which he carefully followed in the part. There were the same deliberate, over-distinct enunciations, the same prolonged pauses and gradually performed gestures, as I remember in imitation of Kean's manner. Except that the copy was a little too apparent, Mr. Aldridge's acting was really very fine. The Russians were enthusiastic in their applause, though very few of them, probably, understood the language of the part. The Orental auditors were perfectly impassive, and it was impossible to guess how they regarded the performance."

In the dagger scene, Mr. Taylor goes on to say, Mr. Aldridge was "quite equal to Forrest;" and "he certainly deserves an honorable place among tragedians of the second rank." Perhaps in more favorable circumstances a higher opinion might have been expressed.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.—The Boston *Transcript* says Longfellow is spending the Summer at Nahant. Mrs. Stowe has in press large instalments of her new work, which is to be a sort of chronicle of old-time folks in a new England village, fifty or sixty years ago. Holmes is writing the remaining chapters of "The Guardian Angel," which will appear in book form in November. Owen Meredith has sent over the proof sheets of his new volume of poems—to be published the coming season in Boston. Browning is putting the last polish on his new Romance in Verse, having hidden himself away in a little French hamlet for that purpose. He promises his London and Boston publishers to be ready for them in October. Emerson and Whittier are reposing upon their lately-won laurels. Edmund Quincy is sending the last forms of his father's memoirs to press. Bayard Taylor is in Germany engaged upon a translation of Goethe's "Faust." Lowell is meditating a new volume of poems. Norton is reading the proofs of his translation of the "Vita Nuova" of Dante. It will be printed in uniform style with the Divine Comedy in Longfellow's translation, and it is to be published in October. Dickens is collecting for the Diamond Edition of his works several articles hitherto not brought together in any edition of his writings, either in England or America. Agassiz is superintending the illustrations for his "Journey in Brazil," the work being all written and in the printer's hands.

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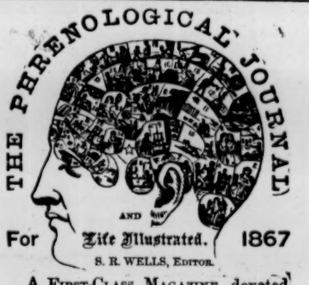

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